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MIGRANCY AND URBANIZATION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

G. E. STENT

THE FLOW TO URBAN EMPLOYMENT

THERE have been many movements of population in human history, and almost as many reasons for them. But all of them have one feature in common. They arose as a result of a change either in the external circumstances confronting a society or a section of it, or in the reactions of the people to their external circumstances. Migrations have always involved preferences, and occurred when preferences have changed. Perhaps the reception area has improved. Perhaps the other area has worsened. Perhaps both processes have occurred simultaneously. Whatever the causes of the change in relative preferences, whether it be the development of racial, political, or religious persecution, the occurrence or threat of war, the discovery of new continents or new sources of wealth, the effect of new medical techniques in enabling the opening up of hitherto uninhabitable countries, or the decline in fertility in the occupied area, it is the change that precedes the movement.

The type of population movement called urbanization reflects this change of preferences. It has been defined as 'the process of movement from rural to urban areas characterized by movements of people from small communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture, to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centred in government, trade, manufacturing or allied interests'.¹

As a generalization, this is as good as most. It does illustrate fundamental differences in the urban and rural way of life. But like most generalizations, it conceals differences which are in many ways as significant as the parallels it elucidates. Thus it says what the process is, and so far it is useful. But it does not explain why the process occurs, either in general or in a particular case; it does not elucidate the way in which movement is transformed into settlement; it does not analyse the ways of life involved in the two communities; nor does it state whether as a result of the movement the way of life of the society is affected. Yet it is precisely these questions that any study of urbanization must cover.

Thus urbanization is not merely a movement from rural to urban areas, from agricultural to other pursuits, and from smaller to larger communities. It is a re-

¹ *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. x, p. 189.

action to a change in the relative productivity of these activities. Rural dwellers may prefer industrial or commercial activity, or, more generally, urban life. But the preference can only be made a reality if the opportunity offers. Rural dwellers may dream of city life—but urban life can only become a reality for increasing numbers if urban occupations expand. Nor does movement usually occur unless there is simultaneously a deterioration in the earning-potential of their rural occupations. Urbanization in fact is the expression of a disequilibrium. It arises when it becomes possible to earn higher real incomes in urban areas than in rural areas. The movement to the towns will normally lead to permanent settlement only if this prospect is realized, either because rural earnings have declined, or because urban earnings have increased, or both. Nor will the pace of movement remain constant. Bad seasonal conditions in agriculture or industrial expansion may stimulate it. Industrial depression or good seasons may curtail it. Nor will the average pace of movement be maintained at a constant. The movement itself tends to restore a condition of equilibrium, or rather tends to create the conditions for a new state of equilibrium involving an altered distribution of population as between town and country. It is from the less productive groups and less profitable rural occupations that the movement is most marked. Thus as it occurs the margin shifts in the countryside. Similarly, it is the least profitable occupations that measure the capacity of the urban areas to absorb new-comers. The flow from the rural areas raises the rural margin of productivity there, as the flow into the urban areas reduces the urban margin. As an equation is reached, so the economic motive and justification for further urbanization is brought to an end, and a new equilibrium tends to be brought about. Perhaps equilibrium in our ever-changing world will never be fully achieved, and offsetting tendencies will remain persistently stronger than the equalizers. But none the less the equalizers remain an operative reality in the process.

Thus the two main forces inducing rural exodus and urbanization are rural impoverishment and urban expansion.

THE MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa the two circumstances have combined. Rapid expansion of mining and later of secondary industry in the urban areas has coincided with an equally rapid decline of productivity in large sections of the country-side. The positive attraction of the urban areas has been reinforced by a positive repulsion from the rural areas. The process, however, involved more than a change of occupation. It coincided with and largely caused a disruption and decline of the subsistence economy found widely in the rural areas, and an expansion of the exchange or money economy, hitherto limited in its scope largely to the coastal belt and the ports, to include the majority of the population and the bulk of productive activity.

(a) *Expansion of Mining, Secondary Industry, and Commerce*

The growth both of mining and industry and of the exchange economy can be easily shown. In the five years, 1865–9, exports through all ports of the Cape Colony averaged less than £600,000 per year, while Natal added some £50,000 per year more.¹

¹ *Union Year Book*, No. 6, pp. 705–6; cf. de Kiewiet, *A History of South Africa—Social and Economic*, chaps. iv and v (1941); cf. de Kock, *Economic Development of South Africa*, chap. iv (1934).

Seventy years later, over the period 1935-9, the corresponding annual average for Union exports was £109 million, of which £76 million was derived from gold.¹ Prior to Union, it was almost exclusively gold² and diamonds³ that had changed the situation. By 1914 some £100 million of gold and more than £180 million of diamonds had been produced.⁴ Railways, too, had played a part. Almost non-existent except in the environs of Cape Town in 1870, thereafter they were pushed forward from all the ports. By 1902 there were 1,331 miles of track. In 1907 it was 2,405 miles. Thereafter mileage rose rapidly to 7,600 in 1910 and 10,000 in 1916.⁵

Until 1914 secondary industry was on a very limited scale. Baking, vehicle-making and repair, furniture, and building existed, but techniques were primitive, their markets were local, and output was insignificant. Almost all the manufactured goods required were imported from abroad. From 1914, however, the situation changed. War interfered with the flow of goods, and under its protection industry was established, thereafter to be nurtured and insulated from any external threat by the protectionism incorporated in the Customs Tariff Amendment Act of 1925 and supplementary legislation and regulations thereafter.⁶ Once more war has stimulated the expansion of Union secondary industry, while expanded iron and steel production and coal-mining have provided the twin bastions of a secure industrialization.⁷ Secondary industry in 1942-3 was the source of 19·4 per cent. of the national income, its share having risen from 9·6 per cent. in 1917-18, while agriculture had declined from 21·6 per cent. to 13·1 per cent. and mining had fluctuated between 22 per cent. and 17 per cent. depending on cyclical conditions.⁸ The number of industrial establishments, the scale of capitalization, the size of concerns had all increased, and are still continuing to do so, as immigrants and capital flow in from abroad, and home savings, more and more the source of new investment, continue to expand. The volume and value of production and hence the national income and income per head have also shown considerable if disproportionate increases. The value of gross production, for example, of agriculture increased by 167 per cent. and secondary industry by 261 per cent.⁹ The process of industrialization, in fact, since it was first initiated in the seventies by the discovery of diamonds and the commencement of railway building, has been rapid, and to-day the great bulk of South African production is undertaken for exchange in a money economy.

Expanding secondary industry has become increasingly concentrated at the three chief ports and in the Witwatersrand gold-mining area. The increased numbers employed in mining and secondary industry can be seen in the table overleaf.

In 1941-2, the rest of the Union employed only 23 per cent. of the industrial labour force, against 36 per cent. in 1916-17. The share of Cape Town had also declined from 21 per cent. to 17 per cent., Durban and Port Elizabeth remained more or less

¹ *Union Year Book*, No. 22 of 1941, pp. 913-14.

² Gold Production dated from 1884.

³ The first diamond was discovered in 1867.

⁴ *Union Year Book*, No. 22 of 1941, p. 803, and No. 8 of 1910-25, p. 496. Early records of diamonds were very incomplete.

⁵ *Union Year Book*, No. 8 of 1910-25.

⁶ See van Biljon, *State Interference in South Africa*,

chap. iv. See also Report No. 282 of the Board of Trade and Industries on *Manufacturing Industries of the Union*, 1945, chap. xi.

⁷ Report 286 of Board of Trade and Industries on *Metallurgical Industries of the Union*.

⁸ Report 282 cited above, par. 35.

⁹ Report 282 cited above, par. 37, and *passim*.

Growth of Employment in Secondary Industry and Mining, 1904-39¹

(To nearest thousand)

Year	Secondary Industry			Year	Mining		
	Europeans	Non-Europeans	Total		Europeans	Non-Europeans	Total
1904	30	56	86				
1915-16	40	62	102	1915	29	250	279
1920-1	63	117	180	1920	39	270	309
1925-6	76	117	193	1925	33	272	305
1929-30	91	127	218	1930	37	316	353
1935-6	129	175	304	1935	44	362	406
1938-9	145	208	353	1939	55	425	480

constant at 11 per cent. and 4 per cent., the Rand increased from 28 per cent. to 45 per cent.² Thus industrialization has followed the normal pattern of concentration.

(b) The Movement of Population

From 1904 to 1946 the total population of the Union more than doubled, from 5,175,824 to 11,391,949, the proportion of each racial group remaining roughly the same, Europeans making up 21 per cent. of the population in 1946, Africans 69 per cent., the remainder being Asiatics and Coloureds.³ A tremendous redistribution of population has accompanied this expansion of mining and secondary industry. This is revealed by the figures given for rural and urban areas in successive censuses from 1904.⁴ Both Europeans and non-Europeans were involved, as is shown in the table below. In 1865 there were less than twenty towns in all Southern Africa of a population of more than 1,000 persons.⁵ By 1904 there were 1,200,000 people living in urban areas, the majority in a few relatively large cities. By 1936 there were over 3 million.⁶

The trend towards urbanization is clearly marked in both racial groups. Nearly two-thirds of the European population were urban in 1936 as against a little more than half in 1904; in numbers the Europeans had not quite doubled. With the non-Europeans, however, whilst the urban numbers well-nigh tripled, the proportion rose only from 15 per cent. to 22 per cent. Thus the total urban population rose from 1,200,000 in 1904 to over 3 million in 1936, but the Europeans, who had made up nearly half the urban total in 1904, still made up as much as 43.4 per cent. in 1936, though Europeans were only 21 per cent. of the total population. For some reason there has been a greater movement of Europeans to the towns than of Africans.⁷

¹ *Union Year Book*, No. 22 of 1941.

² *Census of Industrial Establishments* for 1941-2. What I have called the Witwatersrand is more accurately named the southern Transvaal industrial area.

³ This later figure is preliminary, only the European figures of the 1946 census having been finalized.

⁴ The figures are not strictly comparable. Earlier censuses were not very reliable; the areas included as 'urban' have changed; 'urban' is defined by its administrative authority rather than functionally. But it is the broad trend rather than its precise measurement that concerns us here, and the trend

is too marked for the conclusions to be much invalidated.

⁵ de Kiewiet, op. cit., p. 96.

⁶ *Union Year Book*, No. 22 of 1941, p. 993.

⁷ The trend has continued to 1946. Whilst the over-all comparative figures used in the above table for rural and urban population has not yet been published, the Europeans in 1946 in twenty-five principal towns accounted for 54 per cent. of the total European population as against 48 per cent. in 1936, a very rapid increase, their numbers having risen from 954,000 in 1936 to 1,261,000 in 1946.

Non-Europeans also increased rapidly. From

Table Illustrating Urbanization in S.A. (1904-36)¹

Year	European			Non-European			Total		
	No. Urban (nearest 000)	% Urban	Total population (nearest 000)	No. Urban (nearest 000)	% Urban	Total population (nearest 000)	No. Urban (nearest 000)	% Urban	Total population (nearest 000)
1904	591	53	1,117	609	15	4,059 (a)	1,200	23	5,176
1911	658	52	1,276	820	17	4,697	1,478	25	5,973
1918	767	54	1,422	..	..	..	..	..	..
1921	848	56	1,519	888	16	5,409	1,736	25	6,929
1926	976	58	1,677	..	..	..	..	..	..
1931	1,120	61	1,828	..	..	..	..	..	..
1936	1,307	65	2,004	1,702	22	7,586 (b)	3,010	31	9,590
1946	(c)	(c)	2,373	(c)	(c)	9,109	(c)	(c)	11,392

(a) Including 568,000 Asiatics and Coloureds.

(b) Including 989,000 Asiatics and Coloureds.

(c) Not yet available.

The process of urbanization among Europeans possessed few strange features. Rural impoverishment and urban opportunity both played their part in inducing the movement. But, as is shown by the declining masculinity ratio, which fell from 59 per cent. in 1904 to 49 per cent. in 1936 amongst urban Europeans, migration was succeeded by family settlement.²

The urbanization process amongst the Bantu, on the other hand, has had persistently significant features, e.g. the high masculinity ratio amongst those in the towns at successive censuses. Masculinity was 70 per cent. in 1911, and whilst it fell to 66 per cent. in 1921, and has continued to fall since then, it was still as high as 62 per cent. in 1936. A corresponding family movement obviously has not occurred. In trying to find out the reason why, we shall first deal with the reasons why Africans have been prepared to come to the towns at all, then turn to the degree to which they have become permanent residents in the urban areas, and finally seek the explanation of the situation that at present exists.

THE RESERVE SYSTEM AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The population distribution over southern Africa in the seventies was a complex result of conquest and fear. Europeans, pressing west along the well-watered coastal

1,246,000 in these towns in 1936, they rose to 1,781,000 in the latter year, from 16 per cent. of the total non-European population to 20 per cent.

To some extent these figures exaggerate the rate of urbanization as measured in the table, because they conceal and include a movement from the town to the city. But some of the towns listed had a rate of population increase less than the average rate for the country as a whole, such as Kimberley. Similarly, both sets of figures pay no attention to the rate of natural increase. It was lower, however, in the urban areas than in the rural.

(Figures for 1936 from the official census. Those for 1946 from preliminary figures issued to the Press,

and quoted *Natal Mercury*, 13 Aug. 1947.)

¹ This table is compiled from the official census, taken every five years for Europeans, and every ten years for non-Europeans. Reasons of State and economy have resulted in its being honoured as frequently in the breach as in the observance.

² The drift to the towns has been a central problem in the so-called Poor White problem. See *Report of the Transvaal Indigency Commission, 1904*; the *Report of the Carnegie Commission into the Poor White Problem in South Africa, 1929-32*; de Kiewiet, *South Africa—Economic and Social History*; W. M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer and Britain*; *Complex South Africa*.

belt, first met the Bantu tribes moving south and east in the Eastern Districts of the Cape Colony, the scene of constant frontier skirmishes and wars from 1797 to 1865.¹ Thereafter, the trekkers fanned out northwards, following a line of lesser resistance, occupying the bulk of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal highveld, and constantly engaging in wars with the tribes in the area. Republican policy was aimed mostly at breaking the power of the tribes, driving the bulk away, and permitting the rest to remain as labour tenants and squatters² on land in European occupation and control. Colonial policy in the Cape and Natal was to contain the tribes in 'Reserves', areas limited to African occupation except for a handful of administrators and traders.³ Both policies had security as their chief goal.⁴ The outcome was that by 1870 there were certain areas from which Europeans were almost entirely absent—the Transkeian and Ciskeian territories, Pondoland and Zululand, and the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland. There were, secondly, particularly in Natal but also in the Transvaal, scattered and isolated reserves intermingled with areas in European occupation. Finally, there were throughout the whole of what is to-day the Union, with the exception of that part of the Cape Colony lying west of a line drawn roughly from Kimberley to Port Elizabeth, large numbers of Africans living in areas of European occupation. The Reserve Africans were mainly living under tribal conditions; the remainder were already showing signs of a mixed culture, resulting from contact with a master race and an employing class.⁵

The position soon after Union was roughly as below. In the Orange Free State fourteen-fifteenths of the native population were squatters or tenants on farms.⁶ In Natal, nearly half were on European farms.⁷ The Transvaal was a checker-board of black and white areas, *de facto* if not *de jure*. Only in the Cape were six-sevenths of the Africans to be found in reserves.⁸ The Native Land Act of 1913 scheduled areas in Native possession in 1913 to the amount of 28½ million acres, as compared with approximately 232 millions in European occupation.⁹

Prior to the discovery of gold and diamonds, the colonists were able largely to meet their needs for labour from the broken remnants of tribes living in European areas. The need was relatively slight, and farmer and Bantu alike were glad of the presence of the other on the land, the farmer for the labour he obtained from his labour tenants, the latter for protection, land, and security. The need for labour was not a decisive factor in policy. Thereafter the situation changed; labour settled in the European areas of occupation was insufficient to meet the new urban demands. The mines had to look elsewhere, for in the Transvaal particularly, where local supplies might most readily have been found, the Burgher Government of the Republic thought first of the farmers' needs.¹⁰ Land-hungry farmers had looked with covetous

¹ Prof. E. Walker, *History of South Africa*.

² For the meaning of these terms see below p. 170.

³ de Kiewiet, *The Imperial Factor in South Africa*, *passim*.

⁴ S. v. d. Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*, *passim*.

⁵ See map.

⁶ W. M. Macmillan, *Africa Emergent*, p. 159.

⁷ U.G. 13 of 1916. (Report of the Beaumont Commission.)

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Report No. 4 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, U.G. 10 of 1945, par. 31. The Native Land and Trust Act of 1936 released some 7½ million morgen to add to this 10½ million morgen. To date only 1,592,124 morgen have been actually acquired.

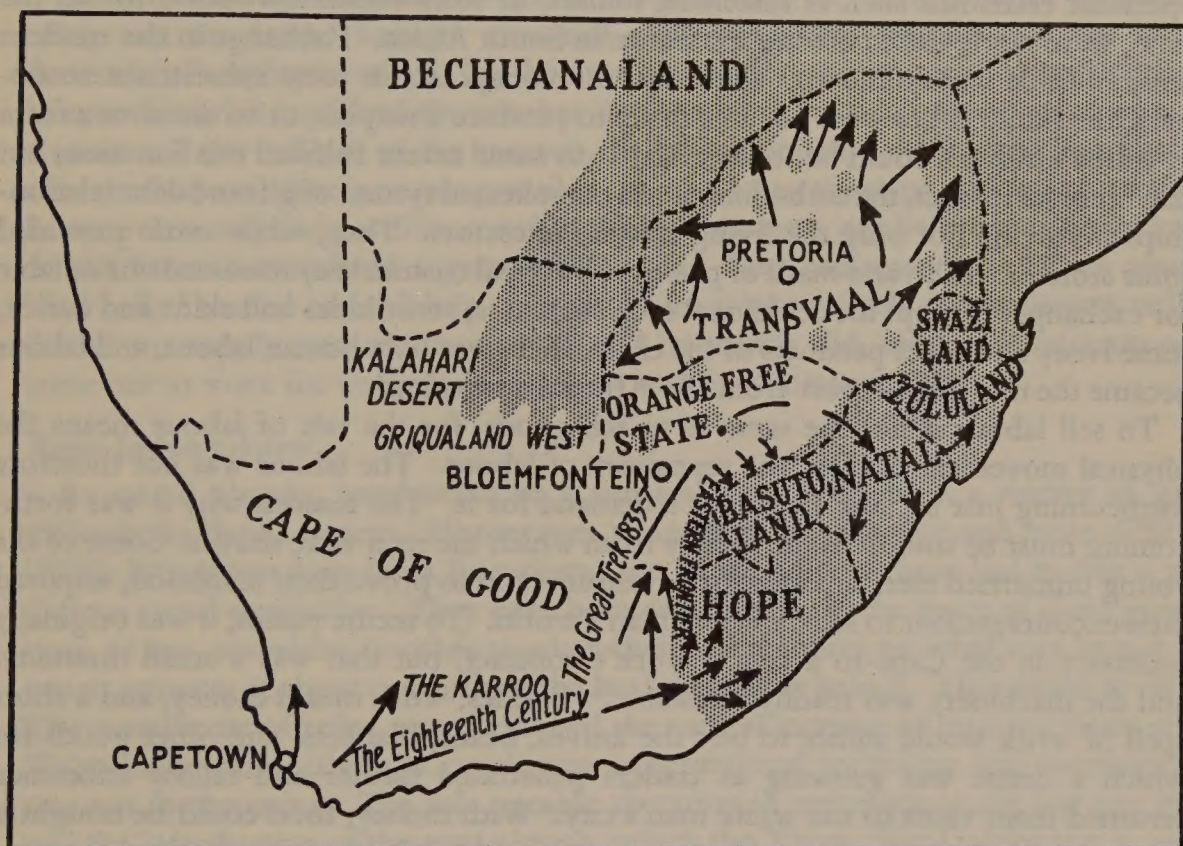
¹⁰ The gold-mines have always had to rely largely on foreign labour. 'It is a somewhat remarkable fact that—except for Transvaal Natives—the Union Native was comparatively a late comer to the Mines. . . . At the earliest date at which Witwatersrand

eyes towards the Native Territories reserved to the Africans; labour-hungry mining interests were more successful in winning access to these untapped reserves of human labour. One tends to think to-day of the Reserves as places from which workers come, rather than as places in which Europeans were prevented from settling.

Reasons why Africans came to the Towns

It must not be thought that the process was a mechanical one, that a new demand arose and a new supply of labour was automatically forthcoming to meet it. The

WHITE AND BLACK SETTLEMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



Shaded area represents the general distribution of the main bodies of Bantu population between approximately 1835 and 1850. Smaller patches represent scattered settlement. Arrows indicate the dynamics of the trek movement between the forces of white and black settlement. The boundaries are modern.

history of these years was one of constant labour shortage and constant attempts to overcome it, seen against a background of economic change which at some times or in some ways was helpful, at other times and in other ways proved obstructive.

A demand for labour does not mean that labour will be forthcoming. Supply and demand must somehow come into juxtaposition. Why were the Africans willing to leave the Reserves and get wage-employment? What are the main reasons to-day?

It cannot be too much emphasized that the flow of labour did not involve a change

Native Labour Association records are available—January, 1903—88.9 per cent. of the Natives employed by members of the Association were East Coasters. . . . By the 31st December 1922, the East Coast Natives employed by gold-mining members

of the W.N.L.A. and their contractors had fallen to 40.4 per cent. of the total.' (C. L. Read, *The South African Journal of Economics*, Dec. 1933, pp. 398-9.) 'Foreign' natives still make up some 40 per cent. of the labour force.

from one money-wage job to another. It involved a radical alteration in the way of earning a livelihood, from a system in which earnings were had in kind from stock and the soil, to a system in which earnings came in money usually supplemented with a food ration and quarters. In early Bantu society the tribes were made up of families, each a well-nigh self-contained unit, having within it some slight division of labour as between the sexes and the age-groups. Men largely performed the roles of hunters, herders, hut-builders, and warriors. The products of the chase, the milk of their cattle—slaughter being limited to rare ceremonial feasts—and the crops resulting from the tillage of the women-folk were the chief source of the family's livelihood. Specialist craftsmen such as thatchers, millers, or iron-workers, working for all the tribe, were rarely found among the Bantu in South Africa. Exchange in the modern sense of trade was unknown. There was no money. As in most subsistence economies, the Bantu tribes were not able easily to produce a surplus, or to discover a form in which a surplus could be stored. Cattle to some extent fulfilled this function, but they were sacrosanct, the embodiment of a complicated system of gift and debt relationships involving not only the living but the ancestors. Thus, while cattle provided some store of wealth and mark of prestige, by tribal custom they remained unavailable for exchange. Except for occasional crop surpluses, some hides and skins and curios, some ivory and other products of the chase, there was only human labour, and labour became the one great export from the African territories.¹

To sell labour is not the same as to sell goods, for the sale of labour means the physical movement of men, the repository of labour. The labour was not therefore forthcoming just because there was a demand for it. The reasons why it was forthcoming must be sought in the society from which the men were drawn. Some of the young unmarried men, anxious for adventures and to prove their manhood, required little encouragement to see the white man's world. To secure passes, it was originally necessary in the Cape to accept a work's contract, but that was a small disability, and the machinery was readily accessible.² Besides, work meant money, and a short spell of work would suffice to buy the knives, beads, blankets, and other goods for which a desire was growing as traders penetrated farther and fellow tribesmen returned from visits to the white man's city. With money, food could be bought if harvests were bad. Cattle could be obtained for *lobola*.³

These motives frequently operated in reverse, to pay for goods already acquired. Money debts provided a means for applying pressure on men to undertake labour contracts, and traders were for many years the chief recruiting agents for the mines.

By themselves these motives induced some labour to be forthcoming. But the flow was miserably inadequate to meet the need. In Natal, the Zulu was so averse to leaving his lands that the young colony was starving for labour, and from 1868 indentured Indian labour was imported, under an agreement reluctantly consented to by Whitehall. In the Cape other steps were taken. A money hut-tax was imposed

¹ Cf. Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*; Eileen Jensen Krige, 'Economics of Exchange in a Primitive Society', *J.A. Journal of Economics*, Mar. 1941.

² S. v. d. Horst, *Native Labour in South Africa*, pp. 29-34. It should be noted that the absence of the younger men had much less effect than the latter movement of the older married men on Reserve

economy and society.

³ *Lobola* is less a bride-price than an insurance of the bride's good behaviour and proper treatment in the patriarchal family to which she moves on marriage. It also provides evidence that she has married well and so contributed to the family prestige and been pleasing to her ancestors.

(first at Glen Grey, later in the other territories), the smallness of which was quite outweighed by its social significance among people to whom money was extraneous. Wage employment was in many cases the sole means for getting the money necessary. Government benevolence and desire for security had provided for the segregation of the Bantu into the lands they were occupying; benevolence to the representations of the De Beers Corporation and the desire for opulence persuaded a not altogether disinterested Government to adopt a measure which was speedily fruitful of results. The mines still suffered from a labour shortage, and consequently built up recruiting corporations through which the bulk of their underground labour is still obtained.¹

Nevertheless, the African did not as a rule intend to break with his family, his tribe, and the land. Labour remained mainly migrant, not because the labour demands of employer varied, but because the African came out to supplement the income from his land, and the number that came out for this reason varied with the seasons and the richness of the harvests. It was a minimum during and immediately after the harvest; then increasing until it checked when the rains came and ploughing became necessary and possible, and rising again to its peak just before the next harvest. A bad harvest stimulated a greater movement from the reserves, whilst a year of 'full belly' tended to inhibit it. Higher wages might in such circumstances reduce the labour supply, because they could, and frequently did, mean that Africans need come out to work for wages less frequently and for shorter periods.

Rural Impoverishment

As stated already, production of a surplus had always been a matter of great difficulty in Bantu society. History was to make it less possible and more difficult. 'With little direct help from Europeans, the Bantu millions have had to face a prodigious social revolution. They have been called upon, in the space of three generations or less, somehow or other to adapt themselves to live on what may be put at a rough estimate at about one-fifth of the land they lately held.'² They failed to do so. The curtailment of tribal wars facilitated the natural increase of man and beast alike. To maintain productivity, a revolution in agricultural technique was necessary. It was not forthcoming. The sole notable alteration in technique in the last 100 years was the introduction of the steel plough, which the Xhosa chief Galeka saw as equal to the work of six wives. Improperly used by a people unsuspecting of soil erosion and ignorant of contour farming and soil conservation, the steel plough itself facilitated loss of fertility, and so contributed to the denudation caused by overstocking with cattle valued by head and not by quality of milk, beef, or progeny yield. 'With increasing numbers both of human beings and animals, the methods hitherto found sufficient no longer meet the case. The result is that we have now, throughout the Union, a state of affairs . . . which . . . unless soon remedied, will, within one or at the outside two decades create in the Union an appalling problem of native poverty. . . . Unless precautionary measures are taken, the conditions in the . . . Native areas in the rest of the Union will be tomorrow what that of the Ciskei is today . . . the creation of desert conditions.'³

¹ The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association operating outside the Union and High Commission Territories was begun in 1901; the Native Recruiting Corporation in 1912. *Report of the Witwatersrand Mine*

Native Wages Commission, U.G. 21-44, pars. 46-74.

² W. M. Macmillan, *Complex South Africa*, p. 120.

³ *Report of the Native Economic Commission, 1930-2*, pars. 67-9 and 73.

Some attempts have been made in recent years to improve this serious situation. Too little and too late, however, they have been only locally successful. Population in the Transkei averages some 96 to the square mile—to be compared with the 13 in European areas of similar original fertility.¹ There is one large unit of stock to 2.5 acres of grazing,² whereas one to 13 is held to be a desirable ratio.³ As a result ‘appalling poverty has developed throughout most of the Reserves’.⁴ In the Transkeian Territories, for example, among a cattle-owning people, 44 per cent. in 1943 were found to own no cattle, and a further 20 per cent. owned only 1–5 head; 47 per cent. owned no sheep or goats.⁵ Large numbers, probably some one-eighth of the population, were landless.⁶ These rural areas, with no occupation save agriculture, could not feed themselves even in maize, their staple food.⁷ As a result all medical opinion was agreed ‘that the amount of malnutrition and disease that exists must be appalling’.⁸ Rural impoverishment, to the point of actual starvation, has become an increasingly potent and operative factor in the drift of rural Africans from the reserves to the towns.

A similar movement has occurred, however, from Africans on European farms. The system of labour tenancy, analagous in some ways to the system of villeinage in the Middle Ages, under which in return for labour services for perhaps three, perhaps nine, but usually six months in the year, the African tenant was entitled to hold land and enjoy certain other rights such as grazing his cattle, has been declining consistently in the last fifty years. Services are being commuted into money payments, and wage labour is replacing labour tenancy. Where it was once almost exclusively the practice, to-day it is comparatively rare in the Orange Free State and the Cape, persists only on the northern, eastern, and western fringes of the Transvaal, and in Natal is confined mainly to the mixed farming zone in the central area. Its unpopularity amongst the Africans has become widespread, and low earnings as farm labourers and a complex of other factors have presented the farmers with many problems notably the loss of much of the rural agricultural labour force.⁹

LIMITATIONS OF AFRICAN SETTLEMENT IN THE TOWNS

It is, in view of these facts, easy enough to understand why employers¹⁰ were anxious to obtain African labour, and why Africans were willing to provide it. What is, however, very much more difficult to explain is the fact that their movement from the country to the towns in search of urban employment and incomes therefrom was not followed by a commensurate urban settlement. The Europeans who moved from rural areas to the towns for the most part settled there. In this their urbanization was similar to that found in Britain in the late eighteenth and early

¹ *Report of the Witwatersrand Native Mine Wages Commission*, U.G. 21-44, par. 124.

² Small stock calculated at 5 equalling 1 head of large. *Ibid.*, par. 126.

³ *Report of Overstocking Committee in Transkeian Territories*, 1941.

⁴ U.G. 21-44.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pars. 129-30.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 124-5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 136-9.

⁸ Evidence Dr. Fox, S.A. Institute of Medical Research, quoted U.G. 21-44, par. 192. Cf. Dr. P. Allan (par. 191); Dr. McGregor (par. 194) *et al.*

⁹ *Native Farm Labour Committee Report*, op. cit.

¹⁰ Amongst employers must be listed housewives as well as the Chamber of Mines. Thus in Durban the 77,000 males registered in employment in 1946 were divided between manufacturing industry (31,400), domestic service (16,800), commerce (14,700), public service including the South African Railways and Harbours (9,400), flats and hotels (3,200), and miscellaneous (1,100). Cf. *Memo. of the Department of Economics, Natal University College, to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry*, Table 8.

nineteenth centuries,¹ or in the United States and elsewhere.² But most Africans, for one reason and another, have not settled or been allowed to settle in the towns.

(a) *What Constitutes an Urbanized Man?*

That permanent settlement has not been usual is illustrated by the difficulties experienced in endeavouring to define what constitutes an urbanized African.

The first difficulty in assessing urbanization arises from the way in which an urban area is defined, as 'an area included within any city, borough, municipality, or village management, health committee, township, or other local board constituted under any law, and possessing some form of urban local authority'.³ That is, it is defined administratively, and the size and degree and character of economic activity are all ignored. Thus areas are included because of their form of local administration, and other areas are excluded in which, economically speaking in view of their employment, the inhabitants are urban.

The second difficulty is also one of administrative practice. The Native Affairs Department still applies the test of the place of registration of the tax-payers, i.e. not where the tax is paid, but the place at which they originally registered as a tax-payer. No matter how long they have been away, that is where they belong.⁴

Increasingly, however, the criterion of urbanization has become family domicile. Thus recently the Chamber of Mines distinguished three groups of African workers, the tribalized, the de-tribalized, and the transitional.⁵ The *Detribalized* is defined as a Native 'who has been born and brought up in an urban area or who is permanently settled in an urban area and has no intention of returning to the Native Reserves'. The *Transitional* Native is 'a Native who has been in employment with one or more employers on the Witwatersrand for a period of five years or more without returning home, but who intends eventually to return to his home in the Native Reserves and

¹ Thus in Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries where the development of machine production, the growth of mining, industry, and commerce were all rapid, so was the process of urbanization. But as a result of the growth of private inclosures of land, the people who came to the new cities of the midlands had for the most part lost their right to rural holdings. As a result of the policy of grants-in-aid-of-wages, the Speenhamland system initiated by the Berkshire magistrates in a misguided effort to reduce the incubus of Poor Law Relief, they also lost their capacity to earn a rural livelihood as agricultural labourers. The loss both of right to land and rural earnings ensured for most that there was no reason to return. The exodus was final; the nexus with the land was in most cases completely cut.

² Similarly the vast flow of immigrants into the United States spread across the continent, swelling their growing industrial cities. There have throughout American history been great population movements even quite recently, as with the flight from the Middle West Dustbowl in the thirties, or the movement into California, Washington, and Oregon during the recent war (see *Economist*, 23 Aug. 1947, quoting American census figures). But each migra-

tion was the prelude to settlement. For most, there was no desire to return to the less profitable area or occupation they had left. Labour was mobile to meet the new demand. It might settle. It might move again. But each migration implied and tended towards eventual settlement. The permanent migrant was an exception, often a social problem, like the Lobo and the Mexican families in Texas. The mass was mobile, but stable-tending. The movement might, of course, be reversed, as when impoverished emigrants from Texas and Arizona returned when the oil fields were discovered. But the reverse movement was no different from the original. Already there are signs that families who had moved from the Orange Free State to Port Elizabeth, Durban, or the Rand in search of employment will be returning to the recently discovered goldfields.

³ Urban Areas (Natives) Amendment Act, 1943.

⁴ This means that if found redundant under the Urban Areas Act, they are technically liable to expulsion from the urban area. The law, however, is rarely applied with this rigour.

⁵ *Memo. of Evidence of the Chamber of Mines to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry.*

who, with this object in view, maintains some connexion with the Reserves'.¹ The Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936, Section 37 (2), defined an African as 'Urban' if he had had his permanent home within the area of a local authority for an uninterrupted period of three consecutive years. Thus a married man must have his wife and children living with him in an urban area for at least three years before he can be regarded as urban. The Old Age Pensions (Amendment) Act of 1944 and the Disability Grants Act of 1946, both distinguish urban residents as those who have had their home in a 'city' area for the previous five years. For purposes of government relief, the Social and Economic Planning Council² has suggested that an African should be regarded as urbanized if he (a) has no allotment of land in a 'Scheduled' or released area, and has been resident in urban areas for not less than five of the seven years preceding the application (for assistance); or (b) is married and his wife (or principal wife) has been in the urban area for at least three of the previous five years and retains her urban domicile after registration.

(b) *Tests of Urbanization of Africans*

<i>Authority</i>	<i>Requirements</i>	
	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>
Representation of Natives Act No. 12 of 1936 (Section 37 (2)).	Permanent home in urban area for at least 3 consecutive years.	As for single.
Regulations framed under Old Age Pensions (Amendment) Act of 1944.	Residence in 'city' or 'town' area for previous 5 years.	As for single.
Disability Grants Act of 1946.	Home in 'city' for previous 5 years.	Their home in 'city' for previous 5 years.
Report of the Social Security Committee, U.G. 14 of 1944.	No land allocation in reserves and resident in 'urban' areas for 5 out of previous 7 years.	In addition, his wife must have been in an 'urban' area for 3 out of the preceding 5 years.

If the man is single the tendency is to stress his place of residence; if married, the residence of his family; and in either case its permanence. This is undoubtedly an improvement over the older concept of domicile, which remained the poll-tax magistracy irrespective of the African's movements, residence, or employment. On the other hand, the Planning Council proposal implies that a claim to land in a Chief's location or on Crown lands, or the ownership of cattle, or a visit to a Native Area to preserve relationship with tribe or family, or to pay respects to a Chief, constitutes evidence of the absence of urban status, even though the bulk of the Native's adult working life may be spent in wage employment in an urban area.

The period of continuous residence in an 'urban area' is a more realistic criterion or urbanization though it involves at least two arbitrary elements—the legal delimitation of the 'urban' area and the length of the period to qualify for 'permanence'. An African in 'urban' employment is rarely free to choose exactly where he lives,

¹ On this basis they find their labour force of 310,239 on 31 Dec. 1946 as made up of 4,061 detribalized (1·36 per cent.), 5,983 transitional (1·88

per cent.), and 300,195 tribalized (96·75 per cent.).

² Report No. 2 on Social Security, par. 286.

the decision resting sometimes with the employer and sometimes with the local authorities. Urbanization involves not only the concepts of place of employment and residence, but also such immeasurables as 'degree of detribalization' and 'propensity to alternate between town and country'.

(c) *How far has Permanent Urbanization Occurred?*

There is no doubt that the numbers and the proportions of those in an urban area who are 'urbanized' has been increasing, using 'urbanized' in a broad general sense to describe those who are more or less permanently settled and employed in an urban area. This is shown by such phenomena as the changing masculinity ratio¹ and changing age-structure of the urban African population, and such indices as the increasing proportion of their potential working life which is actually being spent in urban wage employment.²

Investigation into these questions is only just beginning in the Union, and has so far largely been limited to Durban.³ The process in other parts of the Union differs in certain details, but the general picture can be illustrated by the position in Durban.⁴

The Africans in the area now constituting Durban and suburbs increased from 19,000 in 1911 to 109,000 in 1946, and in proportion from 21 per cent. of the population in 1911 to 30.4 per cent. in 1946.⁵ Of the 19,000 in 1911, only one in sixteen were females. By 1936 it was more than one in five, in 1943 probably more than one in four,⁶ and by 1946 it was probably about three in ten.⁷ By itself the increase in the number of women does not mean increased settlement. But it is a predisposing factor, and indicative of a trend in that direction.

Further evidence can be found in the changing age-composition of the population. In 1921 91 per cent. of the urban Africans were of working age, between 15 and 50. By 1936 this group made up only 81 per cent., while those under 15 had increased from 6.8 per cent. to 13.5 per cent., and those older than 50 from 2.2 per cent. to 5.8 per cent.⁸ This increased proportion of dependants confirms the general estimate of increased urbanization. But how many would qualify under the various heads cited earlier is unknown. Some evidence of this is given by a survey made in 1946 of the African workers at a Durban factory employing more than 1,000. If their family domicile alone was taken as the measure of urbanization, 13.8 per cent. were urbanized. By the standards required under the Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936, only 3.8 per cent. qualified, whilst by the other criteria cited it was only

¹ Thus in the Union as a whole urban, masculinity declined from 70 per cent. in 1911 to 62 per cent. in 1936. See *supra*.

² 'Potential working life' is used to cover the period of life from 15 to 60 of a man capable of wage employment.

³ The Department of Economics at Natal University College is doing the bulk of the work in this regard.

⁴ The situation at Cape Town is somewhat exceptional. Africans were a relatively small group in their population even as recently as 1936. To-day, however, it is estimated that there are 70,000 in the area, a phenomenal increase. The Witwatersrand picture, outside of the gold-mines, is similar to that of Durban. Port Elizabeth, however, the fourth

main industrial area, has probably the most stable population group. Durban is dealt with in detail because of the much greater amount of material available in a country where figures are scanty and little research has till now been done.

⁵ From Tables 3 and 4 of the *Memo. of Evidence of the Department of Economics, Natal University College, to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 6.

⁷ From Table in *Industrial Durban*, published by Durban Publicity Association in connexion with the S.A. Industries Fair, July 1947. The table supplied by the Dept. of Economics, N.U.C.

⁸ N.U.C. *Memo.*, op. cit., Table 7. In the absence of adequate vital statistics, these ages are only approximate.

1.8 per cent. When asked whether they would prefer working in a factory in a rural area, 13.8 per cent., the same proportion as those urbanized according to domicile, preferred the urban area.¹

When we examine records of employment and movement, this lack of permanence becomes very clear. The statistics of inward-outward movement from the urban areas are not available, but there has been some analysis of job records and inter-job movements. Job records do not illustrate migrancy only. During a work-spell in an urban area a worker may have several jobs. But migrancy is undoubtedly one of the major factors leading to a rapid labour-turnover.

In 1946, when the average number in registered employment was 77,000, new entrants or seekers for new jobs already in Durban averaged almost 9,000 per month, of whom 8,139 were granted permits to seek work.² Assuming all work-seekers found work, this meant that nearly 11 per cent. of the Africans in employment had entered it within the previous month. This was equivalent to an average turnover period of less than nine months, i.e. if all the workers were equally mobile, the whole labour force of all employers would have changed in nine months.

In practice, of course, some workers were far more stable than others. A very valuable analysis made by Smith of 7,600 Durban jobs held by 2,200 men between 1917 and 1942 showed that 50 per cent. of all jobs lasted less than 6 months, and 68 per cent. less than one year, while only 5 per cent. lasted over three years.³

With the Africans employed at the factory already mentioned, in 1946 turnover was lower at 8 per cent. than the 11 per cent. found for Durban as a whole. About 12 per cent. of the monthly losses was due to dismissals, and about 50 per cent. to voluntary and presumably permanent withdrawals. The remainder (38 per cent.) may be regarded as temporary and to be expected to return. Of the workers in the factory on 25 September, 76 per cent. had been employed from 1 July, 8 per cent. were re-engaged during the 3 months, and 16 per cent. were newly taken on.

Again, of the workers employed on 1 July, 7 per cent. had worked there continually for less than 2 months, over 17 per cent. for less than 4 months, and over 27 per cent. for less than 6 months. Seven per cent. had served between 6 months and a year, i.e. one-third had worked for less than 1 year, and another third between 1 and 2 years, and only 2 per cent. continuously for over 4 years.

¹ (These figures are provisional, the final report not yet having been published. The survey is being conducted by the Department of Economics, N.U.C., to whom I am indebted for permission to quote them.) It should be noted that if the factory is taken as representative of the city population, this means a higher proportion of urbanization. To the urbanized group must be added the wives and children of those who were married. Thus population equalled 1,000 plus 80 wives plus 210 children = 1,290, and urbanized—138 plus 80 plus 210 = 428. Similarly, aged dependants should also be included, if no other children were helping them.

² Records of the Native Affairs Dept. of the Corporation of Durban.

³ R. H. Smith, 'Labour Resources of Natal', an unpublished thesis for the M.A. degree. In the building trade and domestic service turnover was

even more rapid. Sixty per cent. of the jobs lasted less than 6 months and over 75 per cent. less than 1 year. The arithmetic average of all jobs was 0.75 a year, i.e. 8.76 months. In general, jobs in secondary industry lasted longer than those in any other category except public service. Forty-one per cent. lasted less than 6 months, and 58 per cent. less than 1 year, while 6 per cent. lasted over 3 years. Smith found that initial jobs slightly exceeded the proportion of all jobs in commerce, domestic service, transport, and some smaller classes, while flats and hotels rose from 4.9 per cent. of initial jobs to 11.9 per cent. of eighth jobs (averaging 6.2 per cent. of all jobs). The same trend was apparent with municipal employment and with industry. With industry it increased from 9.7 per cent. of initial jobs to 12 per cent. of all jobs and 15.3 per cent. of seventh jobs.

The urban situation reflects the position in the reserves. When the 1936 Census was taken, over one-eighth of the total population was, on the average, out of their reserve domiciles.¹ Over 91 per cent. of the absentees were *males*. 'It is a fair assumption that over one-quarter of the male population, and over one half of the working age male group is regularly away from its home. This is confirmed by the magistrates in many of the districts, in that an average of 60 per cent. of the taxes of local Natives are paid at other offices, mainly on the Witwatersrand and at Durban.'² The fact that more than half the males are absent at any given time reflects what was even in 1936 a fact, that the proportion of time spent in the urban areas was well over 50 per cent., i.e. more than six months in every year was spent at work in an urban area. The 'Holiday' was shorter than the work-spell.³

(d) *Scale and Characteristics of Migrancy*

There can be no doubt that the bulk of the Africans working in Durban are migrants. Almost all the Africans employed on the gold-mines, and large numbers of the other Africans on the Witwatersrand are also migratory in their habits. Urbanization has not meant urban settlement for the great majority of Africans.

This is not the only country in the world where a high proportion of the wage-earners are migrants.⁴ Migrant labour is the rule rather than the exception in most parts of Africa.⁵ Most of the workers on the large estates of south-east Asia, and nearly all those employed by European undertakings in the south-western Pacific, are migrants, often travelling long distances from their homes to their work.

In the industrial Western world, on the other hand, the United States, Britain, and most parts of eastern Europe, and in the other Dominions, migrant labour constitutes only a small proportion of the labour force, an exceptional group in the general body of stabilized labour. In such countries labour is migrant to meet seasonal and other variations in the demand for labour. The classic example in Britain is given by the hop-pickers in Kent, who are mainly drawn from the East End of London, or the fruit-pickers of California. It is no accident that migrancy is most marked in agricultural pursuits where seasonal variations in demand are marked and persistent.

The Union occupies an intermediate position, for it has, simultaneously, a relatively high and expanding degree of industrialization and a labour supply predominantly migrant, and migrant in a special way.

There are, of course, cases of migrant labour moving from one short-time job to another, thus meeting the needs of a series of employers, such as the sheep-shearers who move from farm to farm in the Free State or eastern Cape, or the caterers who move to Durban in July and to Cape Town for the Christmas season. This labour

¹ The proportion was higher than this in 19 of the 41 Reserves involved.

² Quoted from R. H. Smith, *op. cit.*

³ I am indebted to Dr. Gamble of the Polela Health Centre at a Reserve between Pietermaritzburg and Bulwer, for figures based on ten years' experience showing 10 per cent. of the adult male population of this reserve as stable.

⁴ 'Migrant' or 'migratory' is the term generally used to describe that class of workers which moves from one area to another in search of employment.

Garner Goodrich, in an article on 'Migratory Labour' in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. x, p. 441, says: 'Its existence usually presupposes the existence of a wage economy people who are prepared to migrate, i.e. people who are wholly or partly dependent on wage labour and seasonal variations in the demand for labour.' To this last clause exception can be taken as will be seen.

⁵ See Statement by W. Gemmill in Memo. of Chamber of Mines of Native Laws Commission; cf. Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, *passim*.

moves to meet the intermittent and limited needs of the employers. It is migrant to meet variations in demand. But such cases are exceptional in the body of migrant labour as a whole. For the most part labour is migrant in South Africa, not because the demand for labour is variable, but because of conditions of supply.

A moment's thought will show this to be the case. The gold-mines rely almost entirely on migrants for their unskilled labour force, but their demand for labour is not subject to intermittency or seasonal variations. The basic demands for labour in industry and commerce, or in the building industry, or in government, provincial, or municipal service, or amongst private householders for domestic servants, is also stable. There clearly are variations in the volume of employment offering in these fields, and these induce corresponding effects upon the turnover of labour. But far and away, most jobs are left because the worker wants to leave. The labour is migrant, not because employers sack, but because the men choose to leave. Migrancy is not due to variations in demand, but to the conditions of supply.

Having called this large group 'migrants', we must, however, be careful not to let the word conceal the widely different types that it covers. There are some workers who regularly come into town for short work-spells, three to four months at most, e.g. the men loading and working with wool during the wool season. Some workers spend almost all their potential working lives in wage-employment, taking only short spells off for visits to their families. Some are new to urban wage-employment, although already getting on in years. Others have had long records of urban employment, having had a number of jobs. Many differences can be found between them. Nor is the position to-day as it was twenty or even ten years ago. The changes at present at work are powerful and the pace of change is swift.

Recent investigation has thrown new light on the relation between wage-rates and employment spells. It was perhaps correctly considered in the days before Reserve deterioration had progressed as far as it has to-day, that the Africans would, if paid higher wages, stay away in the Reserves for longer periods and make shorter stays in the towns. This view may have been true in the past. It may be true in individual cases to-day, or perhaps even in the labour market as a whole. But there are a number of points which suggest that the argument has lost its force. Whereas fifty years ago most Africans saw urban employment as a means for supplementing their incomes from the Reserves, and were migrant to meet seasonal needs, to-day urban employment is for most the chief source of income, and the return many make to the Reserves is of the nature of a 'holiday' with the added motives of preserving their title to land and their status in the tribe and family.

'Some very interesting figures have emerged from an analysis made of 10,000 Africans presenting themselves at the office of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, as submitted by the Director of Native Labour to the Native Economic Commission in 1931, and to the Native Mine Wages Commission in 1943.¹ In each case, 10,000 Natives were taken as a sample of the total number registered for employment in the mines. The results showed that whereas in 1931 the Africans spent on an average 10.88 months at work and 8.1 months away, in 1943 the figures were 13.6 months at work for 7.6 months away. Thus the proportion of time spent at work had risen from 57.4 per cent. in 1931 to 64.1 per cent. in 1943, a very significant rise for the comparatively short period of 12 years.

¹ See Appendix I of U.G. 21-44.

'Further details submitted also contain points of interest. While 36 per cent. of the British South African Natives¹ still stay in the reserves for 12 months and more between spells of work, 81 per cent. of those registered during 1943 had been on the mines before, and of these 20.7 per cent. had returned to work after not more than three months away, i.e. "no more than a holiday visit" to the Reserves.²

'Again figures from the Durban Housing Survey show that only a small proportion of Durban workers returned to the Reserves for ploughing purposes during 1943. Only 19 per cent. had done so, and more than 6 per cent. had been away for two months or less. Nor do the results of the previously mentioned factory, where earnings range between £10 and £12. 10s. 0d. per month, suggest that high wages reverse this tendency. Workers who had returned after one spell were on the average away for 8 per cent. of their working lives, as against 36 per cent. quoted above for the mines. Twenty per cent. had unbroken work records of more than 27 months. Forty-eight per cent. had been at the factory for an unbroken spell of 15 months or more.³

WHAT HAS PREVENTED PERMANENT URBAN SETTLEMENT?

We have seen that at each census there were more Africans in the towns. To some extent this resulted from natural increase. It was mainly due, however, to the increased numbers moving to urban employment. It did not mean that those in the towns were permanently settled. Some were, others had recently arrived, others were shortly to leave. Impermanence was the characteristic of most, even though there were considerable differences in the degree of impermanence. The African population in an urban area can be compared to an army training camp, in which some individuals are permanently settled, others relatively stable, others merely passing through.

(a) *African Attitude*

In the historical circumstances of the last seventy years, some such situation would in any case have developed, even had there been no opposition to permanent urban settlement. The bulk of the labour required by mining, industrial, and commercial expansion was obtained from the Reserves, and came out to supplement incomes from the land. Their right to a land-holding persisted, and their cultural society lay in the tribe in which their status was recognized. While some desired to escape from tribal discipline and tribal and parental sanctions, for most wage-employment, the role they filled in the European exchange economy carried with it the degrading stigma of an inferior status, permanently and immutably inferior.⁴ Their right to land could only be maintained if they returned at least periodically, and return carried with it the pleasures of escape from a hostile to a friendly world. As a result, subjective attitudes which had to be overcome to induce a movement to the towns have remained a persistent force checking permanent settlement in the urban areas.

(b) *Political Relations*

Not that any attempt was made to induce urban settlement. The reverse was the case. Various decisively powerful interests have throughout and until recently been hostile to the drift to the towns, or, where urban labour was desired, hostile to the

¹ i.e. Natives from the Protectorates.

² *Report of Mine Native Wages Commission*, U.G. 21-44, par. 209.

³ G. E. Stent, 'Some Reflections on Migratory Labour in South Africa', *Theoria*, published by

Natal University College, 1947.

⁴ Thus a person orphaned in their society and destitute would in most tribes be adopted into a family where his status, at first that of a servant, became eventually that of a member or participant.

permanent settlement of African labourers and their families. The Procrustean bed of the present was not made by the Africans for themselves; and Europeans have found Procrustean methods increasingly inadequate for solving the problem.

The fact of the matter is that the African is a denizen rather than a citizen in the Union. As such he has certain rights; but they are prescribed for him. Even the ambitious claim of trusteeship implies denizenship rather than citizenship. 'The fundamental fact in the South African scene is the domination of Whites over Blacks. . . . The maintenance of that domination is the aim of Native Policy.'¹ Native Policy (including a lack of policy) reflects the wishes of groups within the dominant European group, and rests for its continuance upon the support of what is, for all practical purposes, an electorate from which all but Europeans are excluded.² The groups may be at one. There may be conflicts between them about the particular policy to be pursued. Sometimes the result may be advantageous to the African, sometimes not. Sometimes the issue may involve a local decision, sometimes a national. Sometimes the African may be asked for his opinion. But as a general rule it can be said that the effect on the African of a particular policy is only incidental to the discussion.³

(c) *European Policies*

The situation that has developed in the urban areas to-day, the migrancy of labour and the deterioration of the Reserves, are the result of past policies and their solution depends on a change in present outlook. The main motive of segregation was the protection of European interests. The deterioration of the Reserves is largely due, not only to the Africans themselves, but to the neglect of their development and the training and equipping of their inhabitants. This neglect again is largely due to the desire of urban employers for a plentiful supply of labour at present wages, and the fear of European farmers that their agricultural competition will spoil the market.⁴

Again, such measures as the Native Service Contracts⁵ and the so-called Pass Laws⁶

¹ It was with these words that Prof. A. Hoernlé opened his magnificent series of Phelps-Stokes Lectures at the University of Cape Town in 1939 (published as *South African Native Policy and the Liberal Spirit*). He is also responsible for the phrase: 'The discussion of race questions in South Africa is more apt to generate heat than light.'

² Of the 153 members of the House of Assembly, all but three are elected by Europeans under universal adult suffrage, plus in the Cape some 5,000 coloured voters. The remaining three are elected by Africans, who may also elect a small minority of Senators in addition to the four nominated by the Governor-General to protect their interests.

³ This does not deny that many individuals and organizations have worked painstakingly on behalf of the Africans. It may explain their relative ineffectiveness. And it does explain the decision of the Native Representative Council not to resume their sittings unless they have an earnest of the Government's intention to implement promises with action, and their complaint that their opinion not only is frequently not even asked, but almost always ignored.

⁴ Cf. *Report No. 9 of the Social and Economic Planning Council, passim*.

⁵ As laid down by the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911.

⁶ There is no law requiring an African to carry a particular document called a 'Pass'. But there are a number of laws and regulations, ordinances of provinces, and municipal regulations, each laying it down that an African must at all times have on his person certain documents or receipts, such as labour service contracts, poll- and hut-tax receipts, work-seeking permits, night 'passes', &c. What is needed varies from province to province and municipal area to municipal area. Assiduous research by the Institute of Race Relations has revealed large numbers of such documents, but they confess that their list is quite possibly incomplete. To conform to the law in this regard is almost impossibly difficult for large numbers of illiterate Africans, as is witnessed by the large number of convictions. (*Memo. of Institute of Race Relations to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry, 1946.*)

have been mainly conceived and used as means to reduce the loss of labour on the farms. Both these measures have somewhat reduced the flow of Africans to the towns. As they have failed to check it at all decisively, however, attempts have constantly been made by farmers to have their application tightened up, to secure additional legislation operative in the same way,¹ and more rigorous application of existing measures, and new measures, enabling the expulsion of so-called 'redundant' Africans from the towns. Their new legislative measures to combat the movement from the country were, however, condemned by the Inter-departmental Committee on Farm Labour and have not been introduced, the Pass Laws have been roundly criticized for their bad social and economic effects,² and the Urban Areas Act has not in general been more rigorously applied.³ The obvious effect of such measures is to secure farmers an enhanced supply of labour at current prices, and to offset the necessity that would otherwise arise for farmers to offer better conditions of service and higher wages to counteract the greater attraction of urban life and earnings.⁴

Under the Urban Areas (Natives) Act of 1945, to give it its full title, gainful employment is the only justification for the presence of an African. According to the law Africans may be refused admission into the 'proclaimed area' or even repatriated from it when the number already present is 'in excess of the reasonable labour requirements of the area'. The law has been impossible to apply. Demand cannot be measured without reference to price. The lower the price, the lower is the 'reasonable' demand likely to be. It is difficult enough to measure unemployment among immobile workers where the number of vacancies at current wages and the number of men wanting employment (also at current wages) can be counted. Where the labour force is in a constant state of flux and there is continuous movement between a subsistence and an exchange economy, the concept of a measurable volume of 'unemployment' becomes very vague.⁵ Nor may Africans in a proclaimed area reside where they choose. Under the Act they must live in quarters provided by local authorities, or by their employers, or in privately owned dwellings licensed as suitable for African occupation.

Perhaps more effective than legislation in preventing urban settlement (for legislation has never been directed towards the actual prohibition of permanent domicile in

¹ These applications by farmers led to the appointment of the Inter-departmental Committee on Farm Labour which reported in 1939.

² By the (Lansdowne) Police Commission of 1928; the (Smit) Commission on the Conditions of Urban Natives, 1942, various publications of the Institute of Race Relations; *Memo. of Dept. of Economics, N.U.C., to Native Laws Commission of Enquiry*.

³ The main amendment in the Act of 1945 involved the setting up of so-called 'Reception Depots' to which new entrants to the urban areas must report, and which are empowered to send elsewhere—either to rural or proclaimed urban areas—labour that is redundant, provided that they receive rates not less favourable than those current in the district. These have so far been applied to check the flow to Cape Town, and to remove foreign labour in domestic service in Johannesburg, which has been given the option of repatriation or

service contracts on European farms.

⁴ Cf. Farm Labour Committee, *op. cit.*

⁵ Thus during 1946 the number of permits to seek work issued by the Durban Native Administration Department was 8,693 per month, or about 300 per day. As each permit had a currency of one week, it is probable that there was a daily average of about 1,000 Africans legally looking for employment. In addition an unknown number were seeking work in Durban illegally. In 1946, in Durban, about 8 per cent. of the Africans registering service contracts had secured their jobs without first seeking permits to seek work. (From information supplied by the N.A.D.) Of the Africans who registered their first non-mining service contracts in Johannesburg between 1937 and 1944, about 8 per cent. had arrived in the 'proclaimed area' without a pass. R. H. Smith, 'Native Employment in Johannesburg', unpublished report of the University of the Witwatersrand.

a town) has been the type of accommodation that has for the most part been provided for African urban workers, and its quantitative inadequacy.

(d) *Type of Accommodation*

The initial onus for the provision of accommodation lay upon the employer when mining was the main source of an urban concentration of Africans. Employers housed, perhaps adequately, perhaps not, the men they employed, men who were for practical purposes single.¹ The type of housing provided was appropriate, taking the form of barracks, compounds, or hostels, all variations on a boarding-house theme where real wages included both food and quarters, and cash wages were small.² As a result the provisions thought appropriate in the past have only too often been the sort of accommodation thought suitable for the present. Because almost all the labour force was composed of migrant single men, the accommodation provided has been for migrant single men. This tendency has been most pronounced on the Witwatersrand and in Durban. With the former the reason was probably the mines. Drawing their labour from a distance and often under Treaty,³ and employing numbers large enough to suggest control over them in their leisure hours as desirable, and following the traditional methods adopted at Kimberley on the diamond-mines, they introduced compounds long before a Municipality had even been contemplated, much less before it became a genuine local authority. In Durban ready access to the Reserves made temporary urban employment relatively simple for Africans. In Port Elizabeth and at the Cape, where large individual employers were lacking and Reserves were not closely adjacent, the workers had mainly to fend for themselves. Their low incomes made the provision of housing for them a poor speculation, and speculative building as a result has been instrumental in meeting the needs only of the European section of the population.

(e) *Amount of Accommodation*

The amount of accommodation provided, whether by employers or by municipalities, who began to enter the field as providers of housing in the early days of the century, always fell short of what was needed, even in meeting the needs of the 'single' men.⁴ Increasingly, however, as has been shown, the age and sex composition of the African population has undergone change, and the type of housing required has changed with it. Increasingly the accommodation has been of the wrong sort as well as falling short of the needs. Speculative enterprise which, with higher incomes among urban Africans, might have provided housing as an economic proposition, has in fact not done so, and has confined its attention to the letting or sub-letting of plots, often at excessively high rents,⁵ to Africans who have then been

¹ In the days before deterioration had far progressed in the Reserves, it was the young single men who came out in search of employment and wages. It was not really until impoverishment led to the migration of married men from the Reserves that the dangerous social implications of the barracks became really apparent.

² That the usual form was a 'compound' originates perhaps in the practice of the diamond-mines who, for obvious reasons, soon discovered a need to

isolate their workers from an outside world which included illicit diamond buyers.

³ Cf. agreement with Government of Portuguese East Africa.

⁴ i.e. including men who are unaccompanied by their wives and families.

⁵ The Johannesburg municipality is at present providing plots of 20 x 20 ft. at a rent of 15s. per month for shack-builders.

allowed to erect housing of a sort. The 'housing', so-called, frequently consists of old pieces of iron, sacking, wood poles, mud, and anything else to hand. Sanitary provisions are often absent, water and lighting not laid on, and the 'shanty-towns' that have grown up in the peri-urban areas of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, and on the Cape flats near Cape Town provide shocking examples of urban poverty in the extreme, scarcely calculated to attract permanent urban settlement from those who have any alternative, and exercising a constantly demoralizing influence upon the inhabitants. Only Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein of the bigger urban areas have met the housing needs of the African with any degree of success.

(f) *Housing Situation in Durban*

Durban illustrates the general situation. Its African population increased from 19,000 in 1911¹ to 64,000 in 1936,² and thereafter rose rapidly to 109,000 in 1946.³ Masculinity declined from 94 per cent. in 1911 to 22.4 per cent. in 1936 and 27.7 per cent. in 1943-4.⁴

The residential distribution of this population has been computed as follows:⁵

<i>Residence</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Men, Women, and Children</i>	<i>%</i>
Shacks . . . . .	..	..	25,000	23
Domestic servant quarters	17,000	5,000	22,000	20
Corporation hostels	10,900	700	11,600	11
Corporation locations . . . . .	..	..	10,700	10
Government compounds	7,000	..	7,000	6
Licensed premises:				
Industrial	6,000	..	6,000	5
Private . . . . .	..	..	5,200	5
Unlicensed premises	5,000	..	5,000	5
Hospital compounds	700	200	900	..
Private native houses . . . . .	..	..	500	..
Police compound	200	..	200	..
Miscellaneous . . . . .	..	..	16,000	15
	46,800	5,900	110,100	100

Of these, only Corporation locations, private native houses, and shacks can be said to provide housing making family life even possible, and only the first two providing housing that is suitable for it. That the urban African is 'single' is only too clearly assumed. That he has not remained 'single' is evidence of the changing face of urbanization, the growing importance of industrial employment, and the transformation of rural society. The 'shanty towns' and 'black belts' that abut upon Durban and the Witwatersrand are a memorial to this monumental combination of African poverty, industrial urgency, official inadequacy, and judicial evasion.

¹ U.G. 32 of 1912, Schedules C and D, pp. clxxvi-clxxvii.

² U.G. 21 of 1938, Table 8, p. 34.

³ Press, 13 Aug. 1947. Preliminary census figures for 7 May 1946.

⁴ Housing Survey conducted by Department of Economics, N.U.C.

⁵ Dept. of Economics, *Memo. of Evidence to the Durban Judiciary Native Enquiry Commission*, Oct. 1947, Table 2, p. 9.

(g) Labour Policy

One further factor checking permanent urban settlement must be mentioned. To the employer, the African's labour was a potential source of income and he was employed and treated accordingly. To European workers, on the other hand, he was socially an inferior and potentially a competitor. Grown accustomed to thinking of certain work as 'Kaffir work', the European worker saw a double danger in permitting the African to do the same work as himself, the danger that the labour market would be flooded and his wages suffer, and the danger that the job would lose caste and his status suffer.

Both dangers were real ones. Up till 1922 the labour relations between the Chamber of Mines and the white miners were stormy. In 1913-14 and in 1922 there were general strikes of a very nearly revolutionary scale and intensity, with street-fighting and the proclamation of military law. In each case the dispute revolved around the ratio in which blacks and whites were to be employed, and the jobs which Africans were to be permitted to do. The mines were anxious to expand the use they made of the relatively cheaper African labour—the white miners were adamant to resist it.¹

Labour policy since 1924 has been an expression of a compromise between the European employer and the European worker. Within the general framework of the civilized labour policy,² which has as its goal the provision of preferential wages, conditions and level of employment for 'civilized' labour,³ a series of inter-linked measures has been passed and where necessary amended,⁴ the effect of which has been to exclude Africans from skilled occupations and prevent the substitution of African labour for European in unskilled and semi-skilled trades.⁵

This policy has had a number of effects. On the positive side, peace in industry has been a major achievement and strikes have been few and far between. The adjustment of rurally impoverished Europeans to urban employment has been facilitated.⁶ But for the African these barriers have meant exclusion from high-wage jobs, the overcrowding of competitors in the unskilled occupations,⁷ low earnings in unskilled employment.⁸ Low urban incomes have themselves tended considerably to check the permanent settlement of Africans with their families in the urban areas. Hope of advancement has been denied to them, and the hope of advancement has always been a potent factor encouraging the rural poor to try their luck in the city.

NEW TENDENCIES

It is increasingly being realized that the casual and migrant character of the bulk of the African labour supply is a great handicap to the development either of in-

¹ Cf. *A First Account of Labour Organization in South Africa*; by E. Gitsham and J. Membath, pp. 25-52; F. Cope, *Comrade Bill*; S. v. d. Horst, op. cit., chap. xi.

² Introduced by General Hertzog.

³ In practice European labour.

⁴ Among these are the Mines and Works Act of 1911 as amended in 1924; the Industrial Conciliation Act (No. 11 of 1924); the Wage Act No. 27 of 1925; the Apprenticeship Act of 1922.

⁵ Cf. S. v. d. Horst, op. cit., chap. xiii.

⁶ As shown by the fact that the Select Committee on employment of Europeans in unskilled occupations on the railways in 1946 stated that 5,060 vacancies could not be filled.

⁷ High wages limited demand for skilled workers.

⁸ These low earnings are largely due to the inefficiency of migrant labour, the unwillingness of employers to train casuals, their poor health and hence low output, and the inefficiency of the employers in the use of low-wage and hence wastefully and badly employed labour.

creased agricultural productivity in the Reserves or of increased productivity in the various spheres of urban employment.

As against the traditional opposition to reducing migrancy and encouraging permanent urban settlement amongst Africans of the Chamber of Mines,¹ the European farming community, and European labour, a new tendency is developing. Objective circumstances are forcing a change in policy. The shocking conditions in the shanty towns, the utter impoverishment of many Reserve Areas, the growing hostility towards Europeans and new aspirations amongst the non-Europeans, increasing labour shortage with a continuation of present methods of using African labour, and the development of new techniques of production requiring a different class of labour, are all influencing sections of public opinion.

Thus with the new mines in the Free State it would seem that it is intended to use methods involving a higher degree of mechanization and a relatively smaller and more highly skilled labour force, to secure which it is planned to set up permanent urban family settlements, abandoning the traditional policy of the mines in relying on—and defending—the migrant system and the use of tribalized Africans.²

The policy of ISCOR and the van der Byl Corporation is similar. The South African Chamber of Industries has consistently supported urbanization during the past three years. A large number of Commission reports has urged policy along the same lines.³ It has at last been realized that the policies of the past, both those advocating a strait-jacket and those involving neglect and inertia, will not serve in the present. It is to be hoped that practice will be swift enough to meet what has been called 'a sea of poverty, threatening to engulf and overwhelm the European minority'.⁴

¹ As shown once more in their memo., quoted above, their opposition to urbanization is derived from two main sources. The Mines and Works Act prohibits the employment of pass-bearing Africans in any but unskilled operations. Thus the custom of the industry denies the employment of Africans in more skilled operations and largely determines, or has largely determined, their technique of production. It is not worth while to pay more for labour if labour is not going to be more productively employed, and a stabilized labour supply earning higher wages would therefore be more expensive. The second point is this. The life of the mines is limited, and a large proportion of the mines on the Witwatersrand are coming towards their end. The adoption of a different technique involving a higher degree of mechanization would involve a considerable capital outlay. Were the anticipated life of the mines long, or were it a question of beginning new operations with new methods, it might be an econo-

mical proposition. As it is, however, the outlay would be spread over only a limited period of working, and as such its cost would prove prohibitive. The lower grade mines in particular would find the costs difficult to meet, and rising working costs are already a potent factor in discouraging outlay on new machinery and modified techniques.

² Recent appointment of the ex-Director of the liberal S.A. Institute of Race Relations as Labour Adviser to the Oppenheimer interests is significant in this connexion.

³ Cf. Commission on Industrial and Agricultural Requirements of the Union; report No. 282 of the Board of Trade and Industries, cited above; various reports of the Social and Economic Planning Council, esp. no. 9.

⁴ Prof. H. R. Burrows, speech to United Council of Social Agencies, quoted *Natal Daily News*, 3 March 1947.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICAN LAND TENURE: AN ASPECT OF CULTURE CHANGE

L. P. MAIR

AFRICAN land tenure is a subject so vast that in dealing with it one hesitates to commit oneself to statements of general application lest particular instances should be found to controvert them. Yet, when it is considered from the point of view of culture change, it is possible to discern a number of general trends, the nature of which is similar because their cause is the same—the impact on African society of the commercial economy of Western Europe with its infinite range of forms of wealth and possibilities of acquiring them. Though other forces too are active in the modern process of culture change, this is the most pervasive, and its influence can be traced in the development of every institution. In the case of land rights, closely bound up as they are with systems of production, the influence is direct and obvious.

THE INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS

Certain very broad generalizations may also be hazarded concerning the indigenous systems of the agricultural peoples. In the first place, these systems were appropriate to a subsistence economy, where people obtained the goods they needed almost entirely by the work of their own hands, exploiting the resources of their immediate environment. In such an economy there could be no commodity more valuable than land, no circumstance in which it would be profitable to dispose of land. Land, in short, had no exchange value. Certain writers ascribe to African peoples an abstract theory of the sacredness of land which inhibits their recognition of its economic potentialities. Th. Heyse, for example, writes: ‘It would be contrary to progress to seek to keep alive in the native mind the idea that the land is inalienable because it belongs to the living and dead in common.’¹

The mythical charter, as Malinowski calls it, of rights in land, the conception of it as the home of the ancestor spirits, and the idea that to dispose of it is sacrilege,² are indeed common features of African societies. Some of them also express in proverbial form the conception that the land must be preserved for coming generations. Yet there are not many recorded cases where someone who was invited to dispose of land for a profitable consideration has invoked such principles as a ground for refusal though it is true that some of the chiefs who made the earliest agreements to alienate land were not fully aware what they were doing. When circumstances arise in which land can pass out of the hands of the group with a traditional claim to it, their reluctance to see this happen is formulated in terms of responsibility towards the dead or the unborn. Yet it would surely be unrealistic to conceive of these ideas as the primary reason why the right to alienate land is not commonly found in African custom; more fundamental is the absence of any motive for its exercise.

Secondly, two factors set limits to the amount of land which any individual would seek to utilize. Here the basic limitation was that imposed by technique; where the

¹ *Grandes Lignes du Régime des Terres au Congo Belge*, 1947, p. 17.

² Cf. M. Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi*, 1945, p. 178.

only implement known is the hoe, no one can clear much more ground than his neighbours. But, if he could, the second factor would come into play—that there was no incentive to cultivate more land than was necessary to provide an adequate food-supply.

The level of technique also influenced the system of land rights in that, in the absence of any knowledge of manuring (and often even of livestock), the fertility of the soil could only be maintained by shifting cultivation; either the whole village was moved, or cultivation alternated with fallow in an area surrounding a group of permanent habitations. In the first case no permanent rights were acquired in any particular piece of land; in the second and more common, however, rights of occupation in an area large enough to allow for fallowing were normally acquired.

These then are the limitations set by circumstances to the development of African customary systems of land tenure. From the social point of view the essential common characteristic was that every individual had a right to the use of land derived, not from any economic transaction, but from his status either as a member of a kinship group or the subject of a political authority. The controlling authority of any settlement, whether a political chief or the head or elders of a kinship group, in the first instance allotted land to an applicant, whether a young man about to set up his household, or, in the case of a chief, any man who sought to attach himself to him. Once allotted, the land remained in his hands and passed to his heirs, and the original allocation was often large enough to maintain several generations of descendants. Thus sub-divisions of the settlement might be formed, looking to their own senior members as the relevant authorities for these units of land. The growing tendency of these sub-divisions to assert their independence of any wider authority is a feature of modern developments.

So long, however, as this wider authority was recognized, it had the right to reallocate land which was superfluous to the needs of any of its members. In addition, its consent was required for any transaction which conferred rights in the land of the group upon non-members of it. There were two principal ways in which this could be done. A man who was not using the whole area over which he had rights of cultivation might allot part of it to an outsider. The latter might be formally adopted into the group or ally himself with it by marriage, but if this was not done it was recognized that a member of the land-holding group would in case of need have a prior claim on the land. He was often expected to make a present at harvest-time to the right-holder on whose land he was living. Thus his position had points in common with that of a tenant, and the word is commonly used to describe such a person. But the essential difference between such an arrangement and the leasing of land as Europeans understand it was that it was not regarded by the right-holder as an economically profitable transaction. There was no question of turning to economic advantage land which he could not exploit directly or of calculation of payments in relation to economic potentialities; the advantage to the right-holder lay in the social prestige attaching to a man with dependents.¹

The other way in which land rights could be transferred was by pledging land against a debt. Debts were most commonly incurred for the payment of fines or of bridewealth, or for the refund of bridewealth in case of divorce. Until the loan was

¹ Cf. *Report of the Committee on Native Land Tenure, in Kikuyu Province, 1933.*

repaid, the creditor was allowed to cultivate an agreed piece of land. Here again there was a fundamental difference from a modern mortgage in that, after no matter how long a period, the land could be redeemed by the repayment of the debt.

These were the general characteristics of the systems of land rights which the first Europeans found in Africa. To observers imbued with nineteenth-century ideas on 'the magic of property', their most striking feature appeared to be that the cultivator had in no case the absolute right to dispose as he pleased of his own land. Holding in addition the view that any form of government which was not a democracy must be a tyranny, such observers saw in the claims of African rulers to ultimate rights over the disposal of the land the justification of oppression against which the humble farmer must be defenceless, and pictured him in a state of constant insecurity, hardly able to count on reaping what he had sown. They did not realize that the features of the African system which appeared to them as defects would only be so in the context of a money economy, with the many opportunities that it offers of turning rights in land to profitable account. Hence, what seems at first sight a paradox, but is, in fact, no more than a logical development, that modern conditions have created in Africa, the very insecurity which early critics regarded as inherent in the indigenous system.

In the period of subsistence economy, however, one might say that, although there was a degree of political insecurity, there was little economic insecurity. That is to say, anyone who was held by a powerful chief to have flouted his authority was liable to severe punishment, which might involve expulsion and confiscation of property, if not execution. Undoubtedly the result of this was to make life precarious for those in the immediate entourage of powerful chiefs. But there were limits set to such arbitrary action by the fact that every chief desired a large following, and that few were so secure from rivals that they could afford to make themselves generally hated. There was no question of depriving a cultivator of his land in order to turn it to greater profit. And where there was no powerful political authority this source of insecurity was not present at all.

NEW FACTORS IN THE SITUATION TO-DAY

To-day the systems of land rights operate in different conditions. By far the most important new factor is the introduction of money, the acquisition of which opens up the possibility of an unlimited range of personal satisfactions. Land is no longer a unique commodity; it can be exchanged for money. Again, it is now profitable to cultivate land for other purposes than subsistence, and Africans everywhere are being actively encouraged to do so. From this two consequences follow. In the first place nearly everyone is now cultivating more land, and since, at the same time, populations are increasing and soil fertility decreasing, and in some cases the available land has been limited by alienation policies, land has become a scarce commodity for which there is competition. In the second, there is competition for special types of land, of which cocoa farms in West Africa form the most conspicuous example.

In these circumstances the value of the consideration offered for the right to cultivate land will inevitably rise, and those who have the right to allocate it are not slow to turn this right to profitable account. The higher the value of the payment, the more anxious is the man who makes it to be secure in the rights which he has acquired;

when his point of view is accepted and those granting the rights agree that they will assert no claims against him, the sale of land has begun, whether or not it is countenanced by the custodians of the law. In parts of West Africa the price of land sold outright is now twice the amount for which it could be pledged.¹

Complementary to the man who sees where money can be made from the exercise of rights over land is he who needs money and has no other way of raising it than by the surrender of land rights. This is the man who, in the eyes of early observers, was at so severe a disadvantage in that he had no secure title on which to raise capital for the improvement of his land. They sadly overrated the prudence of the husbandman, as they underrated the initiative of the moneylender. Though the heavy burden of debt that weighs upon the Gold Coast cocoa farmer has been incurred through the pledging of land or its produce, the sums that have been raised for productive purposes must be small indeed. A high proportion of the debt has been incurred in the attempt to keep up the standard of living that was adopted at the time when cocoa prices were at their maximum; of recent years it has been quite impossible for the majority of farmers to maintain this standard without borrowing.

An additional cause in this particular area is litigation over land claims, which has raged in the Gold Coast ever since gold prospectors began to offer payment to chiefs for the grant of concessions. As soon as it became apparent that there was money to be made in this way, neighbours began to assert claims over land on their boundaries in which they had previously taken no interest, and such claims were fought in one court after another till the costs amounted to far more than any profit that could have been derived from the land in dispute. They were met, first by contributions from the persons concerned, and later by pledging the land, so that it was lost through sheer anxiety to claim it as a source of profit.

Along with the changes in circumstances which make it worth while for the farmer to increase the extent of his cultivation have come other changes which make it practicable. He can use the plough instead of the hoe and thus clear more ground himself; or he can employ the labour of men who are also alive to the attractions of money but are not in a position to acquire it by growing cash crops. One consequence of this is the reluctance of individuals or sub-divisions of a land-holding group to recognize the traditional rights of the heads of the group to redistribute surplus land; it is perhaps the principal motive in the assertion by these smaller units of their independence of outside control. Another is a tendency for those persons who have authority to allocate land to take advantage of it, either to secure large areas for themselves or to allot them in return for payment—in the latter case, explicitly recognizing the transaction as a sale. Thirdly, right-holders find that their land may be made to yield more material satisfactions than the prestige derived from installing dependants upon it. Thus the position of the tenant to-day is really insecure; he may be evicted because the right-holder wants to plant wattle on the land where he grew his food crops, or even because he has planted it himself and the right-holder sees the way, by asserting his right of resumption, to secure to himself the resultant profit. The most striking instances of this type of development come from East Africa.²

¹ C. K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*, p. 159.

² See A. Phillips, *Report on Native Tribunals in Kenya*, 1945, *passim*.

The types of development so far described are changes in modes of dealing with land which result from the exercise of existing rights to land in new ways in response to new incentives. They create, both for the African societies concerned and for the governments responsible for their administration, the problem of deciding which of these new ways is to be regarded as legitimate, in other words, what type of transaction the courts will uphold. One aspect of the problem arises from the desire of governments to influence the direction of culture change towards ends which they consider socially desirable—above all, to prevent the destructive utilization of land and its reckless alienation. Another comes from the fact that, where land tenure is concerned, there is in every African society an opposition between those whose interests lie in the acceptance of new standards and those whose interests lie in the maintenance of the old. All kinds of cases occur where each side can put forward a claim that is entirely just in terms of the values which it accepts. Suppose pledged land is redeemed by an individual who has raised the redemption money by his unaided efforts. Should it return to the joint control of the group who pledged it, as custom would dictate? If the man who put up the money declares that he has no intention of surrendering control of land which, but for him, might never have been bought back, he has an argument which will command the sympathy of other commercially minded Africans and of many Europeans.

Again, take the case of the tenant in a Kikuyu reserve. Most Europeans will agree with the old-fashioned African in condemning the sharp practice of the right-holder who evicts him to take his wattle plantation. But supposing the prior claim of the right-holding group is asserted in order to provide a holding for one of its members who has grown up in a squatter village in the settled area and decides to return to the reserve rather than enter into a labour tenancy, there may arise a conflict between two equally valid conceptions of justice. The youth has an admitted claim to a holding on the land of his kindred. But it is he now who is the stranger, compared with a tenant who may be farming the same land as his father and grandfather.

The solution will inevitably be found in the recognition of commercial transactions in land of the types known to European law, and measures to protect the weaker party—such as the recognition of a claim to compensation for unexhausted improvements—will doubtless be introduced on the advice of the governing authorities to temper the self-interest of the new business class. In parts of West Africa, however, a complicating factor exists which is independent of any of the forces described up to now. This is the introduction of European legal forms in advance of the circumstances that have elsewhere given rise to commercial transactions. The trading companies who in the early days established themselves on the coast obtained the land they needed by agreements concluded on equal terms with the local chiefs, and drawn up according to the forms of English law. At a rather later stage, courts of law were set up to which native cases were brought, and these courts assumed that land could be seized in payment of debt. Then Africans began to qualify as lawyers and to introduce into dealings between their fellow Africans the type of document, purporting to confer the type of right, appropriate to transfers of land under English law. To-day in the Gold Coast it is the rule rather than the exception for cocoa farmers to base their claims to land on documents, many of which have actually no legal validity.¹

¹ C. K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies*, p. 171.

A conclusion on the process of culture change in general, applicable over a wider field than that of land tenure, is that with the introduction of a money economy any position of economic privilege tends to become a source of personal gain. Such privileges are the right to allot land and the right to claim labour or tribute in kind. In the closed economy of the past, the personal advantages to be derived from the exercise of such rights were limited and there was no temptation to the abuse of trust. Labour on the chief's fields produced a communal reserve of food and provided maintenance for the retinue which enabled him to carry out the tasks of government at the simple level of those days; tribute in kind served the same purpose. The chief could not use their entire yield for personal consumption, and their concentration in his hands was part of a process of circulation through the community; but as soon as they became convertible into cash the position changed. The substitution for these obligations in kind or in labour of payments to Native Administration treasuries is the answer given to part of the problem; but where the right to allot land, so fundamental an aspect of political authority in Africa, is concerned, the way to prevent abuse without destroying authority has not yet been found.

Another generalization of wide application is that the conservative force of tradition is never proof against the attraction of economic advantage, provided that the advantage is sufficient and is clearly recognized. In the case of land it is abundantly clear that the emotional and religious attitudes towards it which are inculcated by native tradition have not prevented the development of a commercial attitude. The classic case of African conservatism—the reluctance of the stock-owner to reduce the numbers of his stock and improve their quality—is also explained in terms of the emotional and religious attitude towards them that is so marked a feature of many African societies. But here too it may be that the emphasis should be laid on inadequate incentive rather than on conservatism as such. It is true also that the recognition of economic opportunity does not spread at the same rate to all the members of any society. In the case of land rights, changes designed to affect the mass of the population meet with as much resistance as de-stocking propaganda; the attempt to redistribute oil-palm land in Nigeria so as to increase the efficiency of cultivation is a case in point.

Some observers see as the essence of developments of the type described the emergence of the new system of values the acceptance of which is necessary if African productivity is to be increased and African standards of living raised. Others will regard them as instances of what the late Godfrey Wilson termed 'uneven change'.¹ It could certainly not be said that the stage at present reached represents a satisfactory adjustment to new conditions.

¹ *The Analysis of Culture Change*, 1946.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF NIGERIA¹*ELEAZAR OBLAKONWA ENEMO*

NIGERIA is not only a recent creation, but it can with justice be called an artificial creation with a heterogeneous population. This is the reason why the social system of Nigeria is fraught with problems of which the first and foremost is the problem of integrating many divergent elements in social, religious, political, and economic life, of selecting what is good from each of these elements, and reconciling them with the culture of an invading and stronger civilization.

Before Britain established her rule in Africa, those territories which now comprise the Colony and the Protectorate of Nigeria had nothing like economic, political, religious, cultural, or linguistic unity. In the north the ancient states of the Hausa country had fallen to pieces, and the conquering Muhammadan Fulanis had established and carried on their rule for more than a hundred years. They in their turn were already breaking up into petty kingdoms owing merely nominal allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful, the Sultan of Sokoto. The Yoruba tribes in the west were engaged in warfare against one another. The fact that they recognized the Alafin of Oyo as their political head, and the town of Ife as their ancestral home, did not in any appreciable way bind them together into a political or economic unit. The Ibo, the Ibibio, and the Efik tribes in the east did not form large political units and did not obey hereditary chiefs. In fact each village was a completely autonomous community ruled by its own heads of families and titled men. Neighbouring states and tribes in the north and in the west, adjacent villages in the east, were engaged in intermittent internecine warfare. Territorial boundaries were usually the cause of these wars, but they were greatly embittered when the plantation of European colonies in America demanded the transportation of Negro slaves to that continent. Henceforth tribe raided tribe and village raided village in order to capture their women and children and sell them for profit. It is these peoples which were classified less than fifty years ago and given the name of Nigeria. Strong central government has been established because there is an external power which does the binding together. But no one can pretend that real political and social unity has been achieved. Authority and rule can be forced, but the welding together of different communities requires a subtler method and a longer period of nurture through the creation and fostering of common interests, common culture, and common loyalty.

The absence of a common loyalty to one religion or culture touches the social problem of Nigeria at the core. The idea of Nigerian nationhood has not been universally diffused and love of country is still a distant dream. There is no doubt that economic pressure and emulation of some Europeans and easterners who take great pride in their countries make many Nigerians also speak of Mother Nigeria, but in the hearts of the majority of the people their own town, village, and tribe make the first claim on their loyalty. In those towns which, as commercial and administrative centres, form the rendezvous for the tribes, clashes are frequent between the Ibos, the Hausas, and the Yorubas and sometimes between the Efiks, the Binis, the

¹ This is an essay which gained a prize offered by the Royal Empire Society.

Jekris, and the rest. Each tribe still thinks in terms of its own security, self-sufficiency, and advancement. They have not realized that all the tribes of Nigeria must march together if there is ever to be a true march forward.

The antagonism between tribe and tribe is not the whole trouble. Within each tribe there is a certain amount of unfriendly rivalry between village and village. In the past murder, theft, deceit, betrayal, within the same village community, were regarded as the most heinous of crimes and were drastically punished; but these same crimes committed against a member of a different village were regarded as bravery and cleverness, and the offender was congratulated by his own people. This mentality has not been completely eradicated and it expresses itself in various forms. When there are vacancies to fill in mercantile or administrative offices, some chief clerks do all in their power to squeeze in people from their own villages, completely ignoring other applicants who possess both the qualifications and the ability to render efficient service to the community. In the same way a policeman on duty may connive at an offence committed by his fellow townsman and go away at peace with his conscience because he has not betrayed his own townsman to the impersonal Government. In other words, loyalty to town and village claims priority over loyalty to the Central Government or to communal security. There is nothing wrong in remaining loyal to one's own town or village and in cherishing the highest love for it, but this should not be at the expense of wider social justice and security. This paragraph, however, is not an attempt to condemn wholesale the public servants of Nigeria, many of whom have a very high sense of duty, but it is intended to show the social background which pulls so strongly at those who are not strong-minded enough to resist it.

THE DIVERSITY OF LANGUAGE

Diversity of language is one of the major social problems of Nigeria. Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba are spoken by rather less than two-thirds of the population. No one knows exactly how many different languages (not dialects) are spoken in Nigeria. Eighty is a very moderate estimate. It is almost as hard for a Yoruba to learn to speak Ibo or Hausa as it is for him to learn to speak a European language. It is as clear as daylight that one cannot enter fully into the life of a people unless one can speak and understand their language. In the same way people find it easier to trust someone who can express himself in their own language. Since the various peoples of Nigeria cannot exchange ideas in one common native language, inter-tribal understanding and the free mixture of peoples are rendered difficult. English is the *lingua franca* for only a small proportion of the population. The majority of those who understand and can speak some English have learnt it second- or third-hand from the Sierra Leoneans or from books. So a type of language known as pidgin English has evolved. This has very little decency of style, and contact created in such a language is not such as will promote friendly feeling. Only the few who have acquired some higher education can express themselves tolerably well in the English language. If this kind of English can become the *lingua franca* in which people can easily express their finest feelings, it can be of immense benefit.

In townships, on account of this language difficulty, the Yorubas, the Ibos, the Hausas, and the Nupes all congregate in separate quarters of their own. It is in the towns that social amalgamation should start, but as things now are, the chances of

mixing freely are remote. It seems to me that there are two possible methods of solving this problem. The first is by trying to stamp out pidgin English and making Basic English compulsory in every kind of school and by extending primary school education in all parts of Nigeria. This will have a double advantage. It will unify the peoples of Nigeria by means of a common language, which admits of contact in decent terms and in a way that tends to peace and friendliness, and also it will create a medium of communication between the peoples of Nigeria and the English-speaking nations of the world. It will at the same time introduce them to the experience of centuries recorded in and translated into the English language. The second method of solving the problem would be to select one of the three important Nigerian languages and make it compulsory in all schools. In my opinion Hausa is the most suitable, not only because it is the most widely spoken language in Nigeria but also because it is spoken by some communities in almost all parts of West Africa. It has also other advantages over the other two. It is the Nigerian language which is more akin to English than any other and the study of it will not present any special difficulty when children also study the English language. It is the only Nigerian language which had been reduced to writing before the coming of the Europeans. Its study will go a long way in bridging the gulf between the north and the south and there will be numerous Hausa people on the spot to disseminate the language in its purest forms. The study of Hausa would be more profitable than the study of Latin in Nigerian secondary schools; it can also be taken along with English in the upper primary section of the school. This is in no way a waste of time. Are not children being trained first and foremost to be able to live in their own country in the best possible way? Many children now being educated in the schools in the south may go to the north to work for their livelihood and vice versa. This is not sounding the death-knell of the other Nigerian vernaculars, which should still form the media of instruction in the infant and the lower primary schools, and vernacular literature will be developed to some extent; but some of the multifarious languages of Nigeria will never develop a respectable literature and must die a natural death.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

The great difference which exists among the various tribes in their estimation of social values, customs, and standards constitutes the second social problem of Nigeria, and this is due to independent regional development in the past. The Ibo beholds with the greatest distaste the methods used by the Yoruba for disposing of refuse and removing sewage. The Fulani despises the sparsely dressed Ibos. The Yoruba hates the expansionist tendencies of the Ibos and the Hausas. Many Nigerian tribes hate the Ibos because of their thrift, their strong attachment, even in a strange land, to their place of origin, their disrespect for Emirs and chiefs, and most of all for their inexhaustible energy and virility. The Ibos fail to understand why the Hausas should allow themselves to be driven like cattle by their Emirs, or why the Yorubas should fall prostrate before their chiefs and elders, fellow human beings. Moreover the Ibos, who are very generous with food, and regard it as a religious duty to feed and protect a stranger in their own village, do not understand why the Yorubas fail to extend the same hospitality to them in the west, and why the Hausas, who are noted for giving alms, seem to discriminate against them when they stand in real need. It

would not be advisable to attempt to reduce all the varying social values to a type. Each tribe in Nigeria can still develop its social values and standards and purify them where necessary, but a closer understanding by others of why a certain tribe behaves and reacts in a special way to a certain situation will create a spirit of tolerance and make democratic living possible. 'This is a problem' which a well-planned educational system and a common language can help to solve.

Religious questions are fast becoming a social problem in Nigeria. The first and major religious problem is that between the Muslim north and the heterogeneous religious bodies of the south. This difference, perhaps, will never be as acute as it is in India, but it is unwise to ignore the extent to which it is likely to create trouble in the future. A casual conversation with an Hausa hawker may reveal to the southerner the great disdain in which he is held by the disciple of the Great Prophet, who does not take any alcohol and eats neither pork nor any strangled animals and therefore passes for an ideally righteous person. It is not uncommon to hear a Nigerian Muslim say that it is not sin before the Prophet to cheat a pagan or a Christian infidel whom he does not hesitate to call a cur. This kind of reasoning is not a healthy sign for the social life of a young nation. It is not feasible to think of converting the Muslim north to the religious beliefs of the south, nor are the southerners, especially the Ibos, ready to adopt the Muhammadan religion. The only hope for a peaceful future is that neither the Christians nor the idol-worshippers of the south should hold their religion seriously enough to go to war on account of it, or make it a barrier to all compromise, and it should be the concern of the enlightened teachers and administrators in Northern Nigeria to nurture the idea that people of different religious creeds can live peaceably together and apply the rules of morality without discrimination. The southerners in their turn must learn to sympathize with the religious views and practices of their brothers in the north.

But the social problem arising from religious beliefs is more complicated than the difference between the north and the south. Even in the north pockets of pagan tribes are gradually taking to Christianity. Each village in the south now has a mixed population of idol worshippers and Christians, and the Christian community itself is divided into many sects, each claiming an exclusive right to truth. Before the coming of Christianity each village had one form of religion, which was part and parcel of social and political life. Now each village is a city of many nations who will no longer intermarry. The Roman Catholics, most exclusive in their claims, show their Nigerian converts that theirs is a short cut to salvation and that the chance is one to a thousand that other Christian sects will ever be saved. The Protestants tell their Nigerian converts that the Roman Catholics break the second commandment and worship images and debar their adherents from that direct communion between God and the individual soul which is essential to salvation. The Baptists, the Seventh Day Adventists, and many other sects, pull the baffled Nigerian this way and that until in some cases all that Christianity means to him is opposition to Christians of other sects. The Nigerian does not understand the political background which led to the breakup of the Christian Church into various sects. He is excommunicated if his Protestant daughter falls in love with and marries a Roman Catholic. The religious sanctions which regulated the lives of his heathen parents have been exploded and invalidated, and he has not sufficiently grasped the true meaning and

teaching of Christianity. In extreme cases he becomes a powerful iconoclast, breaking up all the sanctions that held society together in the past because they are heathen, and bringing in nothing in their place. In some places Roman Catholics are discouraged from attending the same village meeting as the rest of the community for fear of imperilling their souls. The result is a great confusion because nobody knows what to hold to as the standard truth. In my opinion there is no doubt that the Christian religion is superior to the indigenous heathenism of the Nigerians, but it would have trebled its usefulness if it had come as one form of religion, without throwing overboard that great aim of the Master: *Ut omnes unum sint*.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

The social problems of Nigeria are further complicated by external influences. No sensible African will under-estimate the great work of development which British administrators, traders, and missionaries have done and are still doing in Nigeria. The fact that the vast territory of Nigeria was bound together into one by the British Government is an achievement of far-reaching importance. The development of transport and trade and the provision of facilities for medical attention are services for which Nigerians will always remain thankful to the Europeans. It is needless also to point out that many of the Europeans who go out to do their lifework in Africa have a genuine love for the African peoples and render unqualified service. Yet it will perhaps be useful to present here objectively some of the problems which have developed as a result of the contact between Nigerians and Europeans. When the Portuguese first set foot on Nigerian soil, and when Pinteado led Captain Windham to the court of the King of Benin, the Europeans had a respectful regard for the African. Most documents narrating the dealings between Europeans and Africans in those days reveal little if any race inferiority or superiority. Not conjecture only but serious history has it that a King of Benin married a lady of Portuguese noble blood. But the slave trade completely changed this happy relationship. For many years afterwards the relation between European and African became that of master and slave. A notion which took more than two centuries to crystallize dies hard. It is a great pity that after the abolition of the slave trade and slavery that notion still persists with some Europeans. Nothing surprises an African student in England more than the great politeness and the decency of behaviour with which the British people receive him in their own country. It surprises him because in his country he is accustomed to what is little short of a bullying attitude on the part of some European administrators, mercantile agents, and even missionaries. These people are in many cases good and conscientious men with a very high sense of duty, but in their zeal to maintain the prestige of the white man before the African, they sometimes forget the decency of speech, politeness of behaviour, and the imperturbable and equable temper which make the Englishman a marvel to all the world. It is not uncommon in Nigeria to find an African being expected to stand up before an empty chair when he goes to consult a European in his office. The sharp, laconic answers and the air of superiority with which the elevated officer nods his favour or refusal fill the African with a deep sense of shame and sometimes hatred. Some Europeans wonder why the hitherto ignorant African whom they have been kind enough to educate soon takes up a hostile attitude towards them. It is not due to ingratitude;

it is not due to failure to realize what difference for the better his contact with the Europeans has made for him. In many cases it is the result of wounded honour. This may be a personal opinion, but a close examination will reveal that it lies beneath many racial problems to-day.

A still greater evil in the social life of Nigeria results from such an attitude on the part of Europeans. While the educated African hates to be treated impolitely, he imperceptibly absorbs a bullying attitude as the natural mode of relationship between the privileged and unprivileged, and he usually oversteps the mark. This is the secret behind the so-called disdainful attitude of the educated Africans to their illiterate brothers and sisters. This attitude was not there before the coming of the Europeans because, apart from the lowly position of the few slaves, there was very little class division. Some Europeans point out that the educated African does not behave with politeness towards his less privileged brothers, and wonder why they should be expected to do so. But the truth is that Africans admit that Europeans nowadays possess superior power, knowledge, and perhaps wisdom, and look to them to set the pattern of behaviour. In most European countries chivalry, politeness of speech, and decent behaviour spread from the top. I have never seen or read of instances where politeness, even to the most degraded of humankind, lowered the prestige of an individual, much less that of a nation. So if the European administrative officers, mercantile agents, and missionaries who go out to Nigeria, make up their minds to do to the Africans as they themselves would be done by, much of the bitterness which grows from a sense of frustration will be eliminated and a great evil will be removed from the social development of Nigeria. It seems to me that no country can develop into a healthy social state if the foundations of its growth are laid in hatred, bitterness, and agitation. Nationalistic movements are now a world-wide phenomenon, but in Africa nothing lends more fuel to such movements than discriminatory treatment. If the African in Nigeria has a fair deal, he will be proud of the fact that he is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

There is yet another external influence which affects the social life of Nigeria. It is not only the British people to whom Nigeria has opened its doors. In each big town there may be found people from most European nations, and also Americans, Syrians, West Indians, people from Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. Many of these have understood the secrets of wholesale buying and retail trade better than the Nigerians. Few though they are, they get the lion's share of the money circulating in the country. Moreover, they have no respect for the customs and traditions of the various peoples of Nigeria and by offering their money as a bait play a large part in hastening the disintegration of the old social fabric of the country. The Nigerian peoples see them do with impunity those things which were formerly held to be tabu, and this strengthens the tendency to lose respect for those customs which were so useful in the past.

THE EVIL OF UNEDUCATED PUBLIC OPINION

We shall next consider some of the outstanding social evils of Nigeria. The first in order of importance seems to me to be uneducated public opinion. It is very difficult to transfer overnight the old narrow and parochial village loyalty to what seems to many an incomprehensible unit. More than 80 per cent. of the population

are illiterate. They may be quite intelligent people in the little world of their narrow experience, but they have not the equipment to comprehend the values of a large state nor to reason with or criticize any literate person who wishes to deceive them. Of those who are literate many only know the three R's, and have not been trained to doubt everything and accept only what will stand the test of careful reasoning. On account of this, all printed matter to them is gospel truth, and anybody who has the letters B.A., B.Sc., after his name is acclaimed as a saviour. What is worse, to many people money becomes the measure of merit, and only a wealthy man can obtain public esteem. A professional man or a public servant who accumulates money by unfair means is not censured and ostracized by a healthy public opinion.

An uneducated public opinion is a greater evil than it appears at first sight. Many illiterate people in Nigeria regard the Government as something in which they are not really concerned. They cannot see far enough to understand that the money spent to maintain various organs of government, for example defence, transport, justice, is directly to their benefit. To many of them government is the white man's job. For example, there is a phrase in the vernacular which translates literally into English thus: 'Do it in the way of English job.' This means, do the work anyhow, accepting no responsibility. They fail to understand that the Government of Nigeria is their own concern. That is why in some places people fail to co-operate with the police and the Government in detecting crime and stamping out public evils. During the second World War there was a time when the supply of essential commodities, like salt, was very limited. Those traders who had large consignments of salt openly sold it on the black market and no one dared give them up to the police. In some places it is a common practice for some to evade taxation, and uneducated public opinion regards such people as clever. Infectious diseases like small-pox and cholera are sometimes concealed with the knowledge of the village folk and no one dares reveal the cases to the public health authorities. Public-spiritedness scarcely goes beyond the village boundary. If people can be made to understand that local and central government is their own affair, if they realize that an increased public revenue means for them greater security, more amenities, and higher standards of public service, if they are made to know that health authorities are not out to prosecute people and cause them to be fined and imprisoned, but to safeguard the health of the community, there will be greater co-operation with the Government and many of the mysteries that baffle the administrative officers will be removed.

OTHER SOCIAL EVILS

The second great social evil of Nigeria is bribery. Bribery is no newcomer in Nigerian social life, but it was not as widespread or so much taken for granted in the past as it is now. Its evils were greatly reduced because some heads of families and titled men who administered each village had a genuine fear of the power of the unseen and in spite of themselves endeavoured to deal justly. But now that many villages and tribes have come together as one political and economic unit, owing loyalty to no central religious ideal or standard, and also now that many of the social and religious sanctions which regulated conduct in the past have been subjected to ridicule, bribery has become an accepted *modus vivendi*. Where bribery prevails there can be no real practice of justice, and where justice does not form the basis of a social

structure the whole edifice is bound sooner or later to collapse. Teachers in elementary and secondary schools, clergymen in the pulpit, administrative officers in their posts, welfare officers in their various capacities, should all combine to condemn this sinister practice by their words, by their examples, and by their lives, till public opinion is trained to condemn the giver or the receiver of bribes.

After bribery comes the evil of litigation and the activities of money-lenders. It is a psychological fact that people who, for centuries have engaged in intermittent inter-tribal wars, on being suddenly disarmed and directed to more peaceful occupations will naturally divert their pugnacious tendency to litigation. Now in Nigeria many people engage in prolonged and ruinous litigation in order to assert their own importance, to defend their wounded honour, or to avenge an ancient wrong. Sooner or later they find themselves firmly held within the tentacles of the money-lender. Not only are they face to face with complete economic ruin but in most cases they hasten their own death due to heart-break. It should be the work of welfare officers to convert this natural aggressive instinct into a righteous anger against outstanding social evils, and a determination to stamp them out.

Under social evils must be mentioned the rapid spread of venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and leprosy. Clustering together in towns is a new experience to the hitherto mainly rural population of Nigeria. The married clerk in a large town, a father of three or four children, having a servant and a maid to boot, may only be able to afford the rent of one bedroom and a sitting-room. In the one bedroom, with its windows and doors fastened against the town thieves and hooligans, the entire family of eight sleeps away the too warm West African night. The wife knows very little about balanced diet, so where under-nutrition is absent, malnutrition rules as chief. What a fertile ground for tubercle germs! The African, who has not built up a resistance against this disease, still persists in the old custom of sharing out his palm wine to five or six visitors in the same cup or glass (a perfectly safe practice and a gesture of goodwill when the sputum-conveyor diseases were rare). So he stands every possible chance of infection. There is no organized free treatment for people who have contracted venereal diseases, and since the war, what with the soldiers of other countries who came into Nigeria, and the Nigerian soldiers who went to the Middle and Far East, these diseases are spreading by leaps and bounds and are causing untold suffering and loss to a large number of people. Cases of leprosy increased very much with freer movement of peoples from one part of Nigeria to another, but it is a great blessing to the people that both the Church and the Government are helping to control this disease by starting settlements for the infected. Although much has been done to fight yaws and to control malaria and sleeping sickness, tuberculosis and venereal diseases are becoming a gigantic social menace.

We cannot conclude this essay without saying something about the effect of the impact of European civilization upon village life. In the past, Nigerian village life was based upon mutual help and co-operative labour. The coming of the Europeans has brought more cash into the country, and that cash is more easily collected by those who live in towns and have closer contact with the Europeans. So the towns act as a magnetic force drawing the young men of the villages, who drift to the towns and work as clerks, miners, or timber fellers; others practise petty trading or work as carpenters and tailors. The elderly people who can no longer work very hard on the

farms are left behind with the women. The mutual help system by which in the past work on the farm and in house-building was done is being supplanted by a money economy. Moreover, women are compelled to do the strenuous manual work for which they are not physiologically equipped. Dances and songs practised and exhibited during the slack periods of the year by young men and maidens, practices which gave savour to village life, are fast disappearing. Village life becomes monotonous and unpleasant. Moreover, when the young men return from their self-imposed exile they bring with them what to the elderly is a completely revolutionary and rebellious attitude towards old village sanctions and customs. The air is tense with the conflict between the too-obvious old and the undefined new, a conflict in which the old is gradually giving way. Some village elders accept the new with resignation. Others live in a vain hope that it is only a phase which will in time pass away and allow the orderliness of the old village life to come to its own again. Nigerian village life does not deserve a sudden death. With careful handling it can be grafted on to the rapidly changing times, and the best in it preserved for the benefit of posterity.

CONCLUSION

We have purposely not dealt with the subject of this essay on the same lines as those on which the social problems of a European country can be treated. For example we have ignored the problems of unemployment, poor relief, and housing. Although there are many unemployed people in the towns looking for clerical jobs, yet, if the economy of the country is carefully planned, and education is given to encourage independent living, no one can say that there is an unavoidable problem of unemployment in a country in which only 22 million people inhabit 360,000 square miles of land, and where almost every male of the population has a right to cultivate some piece of land. In the south the poor do not beg as a rule but they are looked after (perhaps inadequately) by their relatives. In the north Islam imposes as a religious duty the giving of alms to the poor and maimed. This is so overdone that some able-bodied people feign blindness or disablement and make a regular living by begging. This in itself constitutes a social evil to be combated. In big towns like Lagos and Port Harcourt a group of lazy, hardened, ne'er-do-wells is growing up and they are up to any form of mischief. These are known by the peculiar name of 'Boma Boys'. All these are social problems which are gradually developing, and which may assume greater importance as time wears on, but they cannot now be called country-wide social problems.

We have only endeavoured to outline some of the main social problems of Nigeria. At every turn it seems as if the right kind of education is the only remedy. By education is not meant only the kind given in schools. Even that should be modified to give the country the social stability that it badly needs. But at the same time other departments of life should be agents of social progress. A well-informed and well-meaning press can be of great value in disseminating healthy ideals. People who occupy positions of responsibility should do all in their power to instil a sense of social responsibility so that the peoples of Nigeria may be aroused to fight the social evils and solve, as they arise, those problems which endanger social well-being and security.

THE OLIPHANTS' RIVER IRRIGATION SCHEME

ELIZABETH H. MOGG

A GREAT many criticisms have been made of South Africa's treatment of her native population. Many of these have been well founded, but at the same time it is well to remember that it is not easy, in a country where over three-quarters of the population is living at a totally different historical level from the rest, to decide what Professor Julian Huxley calls the optimum rate of advance for the more backward people. Undue haste results in the detribalization of people who have not yet had time to adjust themselves to western modes of life. The gold-mines of the Rand, for example, have been responsible for the growth of the evil of migrant labour, which drains the native reserves of their able-bodied men, and creates huge urban populations of Natives who have lost touch with tribal customs and sanctions, and have not had time to acquire the western ideas which should take their place.

It would be untrue, however, to suggest that the Union Government has been merely a passive spectator of the economic exploitation which too often has disastrous consequences for the detribalized African. There are, throughout the country, various schemes and projects whose aims are to assist the tribal Native to adjust himself gradually to modern ways of life. Since an adequate food-supply is essential for any permanent advancement, these schemes are, for the most part, concerned with the production of food. One of the most interesting is the Oliphants' River irrigation scheme, in the northern Transvaal, which is run under the agricultural section of the Native Affairs Department.

About sixty miles from Pietersburg the Oliphants' River flows through arid, stony country which suffers, not only from extremes of temperature, but also from an erratic rainfall. The average figure—16 inches per annum—does not reflect the true position. In some years there are only 5 inches, while sudden fierce storms may bring the rainfall of another year up to as much as 36 inches. The intense heat of the summer months favours the breeding of the malarial mosquito in the river itself and in stagnant pools formed by the rains which fall between October and March, the hottest months of the year.

Through this desolate area, where the vegetation consists chiefly of thorn-bush, aloes, and semi-desert plants, the pioneer Louis Trichardt trekked over a hundred years ago in his search for a place to settle. Many of his followers lie in unmarked graves along the line of his trek, victims of malaria. Until six years ago some half-dozen European farmers, descendants, possibly, of the early Voortrekkers, struggled to make a living on the rich alluvial soil on either side of the warm, slow-moving river. Against the advice of irrigation experts, and in the face of almost incredible difficulties, they built a weir from which they hoped to irrigate sufficient land to support themselves and their families. Year after year they hauled stones in their ox-waggons to the site of the weir, packing boulders in the river bed where the rock dipped too sharply for firm foundations to be made. Year after year summer floods carried a part of the wall away. Malaria took its toll from every family. It was a

heart-breaking existence, and it was probably with relief that they sold their farms to the Native Trust in 1939.

A block of 24,000 acres was bought under the Native Land and Trust Act of 1936. This Act implemented in part the promise made by the Botha Government in 1913 that additional land should be set aside for Native occupation.

The agricultural officers of the Native Affairs Department were faced at Oliphants' River with the task of settling 500 native families on land which had hitherto barely supported six Europeans. To add to their difficulties, the Natives were the backward and badly nourished descendants of the Pedi tribe which Mzilikazi, the Zulu marauder, had decimated in the time of Dingaan—the 'los kafirs' of whom Louis Trichardt and the early Voortrekkers sincerely believed themselves to be the liberators. However, agricultural engineers devised a system of stone bolsters (stones held together with plaited wire) which were more durable and more easily repaired than the loose stone wall which had hitherto formed the weir, and constructed 22 miles of canal, running parallel to the river, from which 1,800 acres of alluvial soil could be irrigated.

This land is divided into three-acre plots on which two crops a year are grown. The rotation of crops has been carefully worked out and includes ground-nuts, cow-peas, and green peas as well as the main winter crop of wheat and the summer one of maize. The system is flexible, and is as simple as possible, but rotation is insisted upon. Each allotment is divided into three parts of one acre, worked as follows:

		1	2	3
Summer } Winter }	1st Year	Legumes. No manure	Maize. 200 lb. super- phosphate	Kafir-corn and roots. Kraal manure
		Wheat. 200 lb. superphosphate	Fallow	Fallow and apply 5 tons kraal manure
Summer } Winter }	2nd Year	Cereal and roots. Kraal manure	Legumes. No manure	Maize. 200 lb. super- phosphate
		Fallow. 5 tons kraal manure	Wheat. 200 lb. super- phosphate	Fallow
Summer } Winter }	3rd Year	Maize. 200 lb. superphosphate	Cereals and roots. Kraal manure	Legumes. No manure
		Fallow	Fallow. Apply manure	Wheat. 200 lb. super- phosphate.

Thence back to the first year. Either maize or kafir-corn may be planted, and, as many Natives do not plant a whole acre to roots, a part may be put down to cereals. Those Natives who can be persuaded to grow lucerne have their plots divided into four parts, and the lucerne is ploughed in every third year. The fallow land is ploughed but not harrowed.

Most of the plot-holders are drawn from the surrounding overcrowded locations, and some of them live as much as ten miles away from their plots. Their huts are perched on the slopes of the Lulu mountains, where the danger of malaria is not so



A weir in the Oliphants' River, Northern Transvaal, by means of which water is led to 2,000 acres of Native Trust land in a very dry area. The intake furrow is seen in the foreground. (N.P. 1376.)



A Native plot-holder on a South African Native Trust irrigation scheme leading water on to his young winter wheat. Maize and beans are grown on the same land during summer. European supervisors teach these plot-holders the new art of irrigation farming. (N.P. 1.)



Here South African Native Trust machinery is in operation, threshing the wheat crop for plot-holders on an irrigation scheme. (N.P. 1371(a).)



Wheat fresh from the threshing machine being loaded on to donkeys for transportation to the homes of plot-holders. A crop of 7,000 bags was obtained in 1946 on this Transvaal irrigation scheme. (N.P. 1133.)

great, and where, in the old days, these harassed people found a refuge from their enemies. They are—or were—completely 'raw' Natives, dependent for their precarious sustenance on the miserable crops grown on worked-out lands, and the Pedi, or Blue Sekukuniland, cattle which, acclimatized to semi-desert conditions, provided them with milk.

One three-acre plot was given to each family, and these people, who had grown almost accustomed to living in a state of semi-starvation, and whose greatest hope of security was to reap a good crop once in five years or more, settled down to farm in a curious but satisfactory blending of primitive and modern ways.

Strict control is necessary if valuable land, worked by people entirely ignorant of irrigation or of any but the most primitive methods of agriculture, is to be preserved for future generations. The regulations governing the scheme provide for the eviction of a plot-holder who does not pay his yearly rent of 30s., who absents himself for more than one month without putting an authorized representative in his place, or who ignores the instructions for manuring and cultivating given him by the agricultural officer in charge. This control is strict, but it is not rigid. Great patience was exercised in the early days of the scheme, and progress was slow, but the authorities were reluctant to impose sanctions except in the most extreme cases. Their attitude was that improvement in agriculture should be obtained by education and not by administrative action. Their forbearance has been justified. In 1942 the average yield of maize per acre was 4 bags of 200 lb.; in 1946 the average had exactly doubled, while individual plot-holders raised 13–15 bags per acre.

The soil of the area has been classified as good, medium, and poor. The superintendent directs how much kraal and artificial manure is to be applied to each type. Kraal, or farmyard, manure is obtained from the neighbouring locations whose inhabitants have never used it. Many of the cattle kraals are fifty or more years old, raised high above the surrounding ground by the manure of generations of cattle. The kraals of manure are bought by the Native Affairs Department, and dumped at convenient places; or, on payment of half the cost of transport, the contents of a man's kraal may be carted to his plot. Kraal manure which is bought by the Department is sold to plot-holders at half the cost price. For those who have no vehicle transport is provided by the N.A.D. During the war artificial fertilizers were obtainable from the Department, and a rebate of 50 per cent. of the landed cost price was allowed, but to-day the Natives are able and willing to pay the full cost. In rainy summers the Oliphants' River overflows its banks, bringing down a deposit of silt and spreading it over the irrigated lands. The surplus water is drained off by a system of drains to prevent waterlogging and 'brak', and the periodic flooding helps to keep up the fertility of the soil.

For those who have no cattle—and they are many, for the carrying capacity of the area is estimated at 20–30 acres per cattle unit, five goats or sheep counting as one unit—tractor ploughing units provided by the N.A.D. plough the soil at a charge of 5s. per acre. Cultivation is done by the women, using the same type of heart-shaped hoe as was made by the men of the iron mountain in the days when the leathern bellows for the forge were made of the skin of a goat which had been flayed alive, and no woman might look on the molten metal and live. Reaping is done by hand with a sickle, but the harvested winter crop is threshed by a tractor-driven machine. Wheat

is an innovation, and the Natives had no knowledge of how to thresh it, even by the primitive method of beating it with sticks, which is sometimes used for millet. They have, however, learned the value of wheat as a food. Whereas almost the whole of the first wheat crops were sold, to-day less than half reaches the market, the remainder being consumed by the plot-holders or bartered locally.

Wheat harvest is in the nature of a festival. Seven thousand bags were reaped in 1946 (the largest wheat crop reaped by the European settlers, who of course had to struggle along without government assistance, was 2,300 bags). Plot-holders who live at a distance erect temporary grass-roofed huts on their plots until their grain is threshed. The young girls dress up in their bead ornaments and skimpy little frilled bodices that half-conceal their breasts, and tease and laugh at the sheepish boys until all are called to work by their elders. Fat babies loll on their mothers' backs, heedless of the blazing sun, and piccanins toddle unsteadily about until they are snatched up by an elder sister. The threshing-machine works at a great rate, belching out a continuous stream of straw and chaff on to a steadily growing stack. Round about it men and women labour frantically, the sweat running down their dark faces, but in the huts and on the plots they work in the curious spasmodic way of the primitive African who, perhaps more wisely than we realize, regards the bustle and haste of the Europeans as foolish.

It is the same with the threshed wheat. The grain that the plot-holders wish to sell is bagged and run by motor-lorry (many of the drivers are Natives who gained experience with the Army while serving in the Western Desert) to the nearest Wheat Board depot for grading and sale, where it is stored in modern vermin-proof buildings. But the Natives have no use for bags. They store their grain in huge baskets, higher than a man, which are raised on poles so that the white ants cannot get at them. When the woman of the house wants meal she gets out her grinding-stones, and, going down on her knees, she grinds by hand as much as she requires. Whole wheat is also used, and its consumption is encouraged by the officials because of its vitamin B content. So far bread-making has not come into general use, and the meal is chiefly used for a boiled porridge.

On account of the backwardness of the people, the Oliphants' River irrigation scheme has hitherto been devoted mainly to the growing of grain crops, and the 7,000 bags of wheat and 8,000 bags of maize reaped in 1946 were a useful contribution to the Union's food-supplies, apart from the legumes which were grown and consumed locally. After less than six years, the effects of an adequate food-supply are already apparent in the improved physique of the people, especially of the children.

It is the intention of the Department, however, to introduce the cultivation of vegetable plots, and to plant lucerne on land unsuitable for grain crops. The lucerne will be used as a supplementary feed for milk-cows. The carrying capacity of the surrounding veld being low, each plot-holder will be allowed a maximum of five cows. These will probably be the Pedi cattle which respond to proper treatment and are besides accustomed to local conditions of climate and of veld, but bulls of an approved milk-breed will be introduced to increase the milk-yield.

Both the vegetable-growing and the milk schemes are dependent on the closer settlement project which is coming into being. It is obviously unsatisfactory to have people living far away from their holdings, and the activities of the anti-malarial

division have rendered the site of the irrigation scheme moderately safe. A residential area has been set aside on rising ground, and here the Natives will build their own houses, putting in a standard-sized door and window openings for which mosquito-gauzed frames will be supplied by the Native Trust. The tenants will be required to keep the gauze in mosquito-proof condition, and to screen at their own expense any further dwelling quarters they may erect.

This closer settlement will probably provide another example of how the Native may be painlessly led from primitive to more modern conditions of life. The surrounding Native locations are overcrowded with human beings and with cattle, and the veld has suffered accordingly. So-called arable lands have reduced the scant grazing available, and overstocking has lessened the carrying capacity of the veld. The tendency is for plot-holders to give up their dry-land arable holdings and to concentrate on irrigated land. The Native Trust ploughing units do away with the need for trek oxen. A cash income of from £60 to £120 a year, plus sufficient food, provides the feeling of security, formerly only to be found in the possession of large herds, while the five milk-producing cows will to some extent satisfy the Native's healthy desire to own cattle. Compulsory stock-limitation, which is essential if the veld is to be rescued, will therefore be an easier matter in this district than in places where no alternative is available. Experiments in fencing off and resting the veld in the vicinity of the scheme have shown that it recovers in a surprisingly short time. Proper planning and control would undoubtedly raise the carrying capacity even of the terribly eroded and denuded locations.

Comparatively little money has been spent on the Oliphants' River scheme, for it was started during the war years, when money, materials, and staff were all in short supply. The headworks are simple and are merely an improvement on the weir constructed by the European settlers. The canals are channels through the earth, and the use of concrete—owing to the shortage of cement—has only been possible on reaches where percolation causes alkaline conditions in the land below.

Many of the difficulties encountered when the scheme was in its infancy were due to lack of funds, and progress has been slow, but in actual practice this has not been an entirely bad thing. The primitive and backward people have had time to adjust themselves to changing conditions, and to learn to accept new methods as being good in themselves, and not merely as fads of the ruling white man. It is possible that the unavoidable delay in providing residential accommodation near the scheme may also have had its good points. The Natives now realize that it is uneconomical to live at a long distance from the scheme in order to retain their rights to a dry-land arable holding in the location. Abundance of food and an adequate income are assured from an irrigated plot alone, and this the Natives have had time to find out for themselves.

On the Oliphants' River irrigation scheme the change-over from primitive life is gradual and beneficial. Modern machinery is used, but it is used as the servant of man, and not as his master. The three European officials who, assisted by four native demonstrators who have received an agricultural training at Fort Cox or Tsolo, are in charge of the scheme, are there to advise and help the people, not to oppress them."In time the two white foremen will be replaced by native demonstrators who have shown marked ability. Later on the people will be encouraged to form their

own co-operative societies, as the people of the Letaba Bantu Farmers' Co-operative have done so successfully. Then perhaps they will buy their own reaping-machines, tractors, and cultivators. In the meantime they use the hoe and sickle to which they are accustomed; they cook their food in round earthenware pots over a fire in the open air; they store their food as their forefathers did—the difference being that to-day the grain-baskets are never empty.

The scheme has been criticized on the grounds that with more mechanization and a speeding up all round, the same quantity of food could be produced by forty or fifty labourers, leaving the remainder free to be absorbed into industry. No doubt that is perfectly true, but 'absorption into industry', a phrase that is rapidly becoming a cliché, does not in itself solve the problems of a primitive people, nor have the experiments made in that direction by the gold-mines of the Rand improved either the health or the happiness of the African. The healthy children on the Oliphants' River are perhaps the best justification of the scheme to those who regard the Native as being, first and foremost, a source of labour. These children are growing up under the care of both father and mother, for the men do not, as a rule, leave their plots to seek work, and the growing family is disciplined and trained to help the parents from a very early age. When the time comes for the youths to leave home, they will do so with well-nourished bodies and habits of steady work which the children of 'industrialized' Natives at present entirely lack.

The Oliphants' River scheme is much more than a means of increasing food supplies, although it has, in fact, added to them substantially. Its most important result has been the progress made by ill-nourished and backward people in adjusting themselves to new conditions, without destroying the tribal background which at the present stage of their development is necessary for them.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

April 1948

A MEETING of the Institute's Executive Council was held in Brussels from 4 to 6 April, at which the following members were present: Lord Rennell, Chairman; Professor D. Forde, Administrative Director; Professor De Jonghe, Professor M. Griaule, Consultative Directors; Mr. H. G. Judd, Hon. Treasurer; Monsieur Charton; Dr. Colson (representing Professor Schapera); Professor De Cleene; Professor Grottanelli; Dr. Idenburg; Professor Lindblom; Governor-General Moeller; Father Perbal; General de Rendinger; Dr. Richards; Dr. E. W. Smith; Sir George Tomlinson; Professor Ida Ward; Mrs. Wyatt, Secretary.

By the courtesy of the Direction of the Club de la Fondation Universitaire, a spacious and dignified conference hall was placed at the disposal of the Council for its meetings, and members were also able to use the writing-rooms and library of the Club—not to mention the excellent restaurant—for informal talks and study.

The Council devoted four sessions to the consideration of a long agenda, which included proposals for the revision of the Constitution, and of the composition of the Governing Body; the presentation of the annual accounts and balance-sheet, with a statement by the Hon. Treasurer on the Institute's financial position; a proposal for a memorial to the late Lord Lugard (particulars of which are given elsewhere in this number). Reports on developments and activities since the Council's last meeting in July 1947 were presented by the Administrative Director and by the Consultative Directors, Professors De Jonghe and Griaule. In connexion with these reports, plans for collaboration with U.N.E.S.C.O. and with research organizations in France, Belgium, and the Belgian Congo were discussed. In connexion with the preparation of a new list of members, means for increasing both the membership and the financial resources of the Institute were considered, and members of the Council were invited to explore possibilities in their own countries. The last session was devoted to the consideration of a programme and policy for the future, and of the best means of extending the usefulness of the Institute in the international sphere. The Administrative Director referred to recent developments in western Europe as providing new opportunities for an international scientific organization such as the Institute. In the course of the discussion a number of suggestions were made and referred to the Bureau for detailed consideration and the framing of specific proposals. Dr. Idenburg, of the Afrika Instituut, Leyden, put forward a proposal for collaboration in a series of comparative studies concerned with problems of colonial territories. This was referred to an *ad hoc* committee, to be nominated by the Chairman.

The Council received with deep regret the resignation of the Editor of *Africa*, the Rev. Dr. Edwin Smith, who had felt impelled, for reasons of health, to relinquish the position which he had held with distinction and success since 1945. The Council recorded its appreciation of his most valuable work, not only as Editor, but as one of the founders of the Institute and one of its oldest and most devoted supporters.

The strenuous hours devoted to business were alleviated by functions of a more social character. On the evening of 4 April Professor De Jonghe entertained the Council at an informal evening party held at the Hotel Gallia. This occasion provided a welcome opportunity for the exchange of news and the renewing of contacts and—reinforced by the superlative quality and abundance of the refreshments—established from the outset the friendly and co-operative spirit which marked all the subsequent proceedings.

The following day, M. Wigny, Minister for Colonies in the Belgian Government, was the guest of the Institute at a luncheon given at the Club de la Fondation Universitaire. The Council was sincerely appreciative of this gracious indication, on the part of the Belgian Government, of its readiness to participate in the work of the Institute, a further proof of which was the reception given at the Belgian Colonial Ministry on Wednesday afternoon, when members of the Council had the pleasure of meeting Madame Wigny, as well as a number of distinguished personalities in Belgian colonial and administrative circles.

The formal business having been concluded on Wednesday afternoon, Thursday was occupied by a visit to the Musée du Congo Belge at Tervuren, organized by Professor Olbrechts, Director of the museum. Those who took part in this expedition were conveyed by bus from Brussels to Tervuren, where the Musée stands in a miniature Versailles laid out with parterres and lakes and surrounded by woodlands, then in the first freshness of spring. The party was conducted by Professor Olbrechts through the research collections not open to the general public, and all were deeply impressed alike by the wealth of the material and by the learning and enthusiasm of the Director. After an inspection of the indexing and documentation departments, the party was entertained to a luncheon, at which M. Bruneel, Chef du cabinet of the Colonial Minister, was present, and made a graceful and cordial speech of welcome to the members of the Council as representatives of a distinguished scientific organization. Professor Forde, the Institute's Administrative Director, replied with equal cordiality and felicity. A visit to the public collections occupied the afternoon.

As the record of these activities makes clear, little time was left to enjoy the charms of Brussels—so tantalizingly displayed in the spring sunshine. Nevertheless, again thanks to Professor Olbrechts, some members of the Council had an opportunity of exploring the cultural amenities of the city in a visit to the Stocklet collection of African art, and the Congo cabaret of the Café Mafouta.

The Executive Council was most sincerely appreciative of the welcome extended to it by the Belgian Government, of the hospitality of the Belgian members, and of the arrangements for its entertainment carried out with such energy and forethought by Professor De Jonghe, the Belgian Director, and by Professors Olbrechts and De Cleene—with whom should be associated the name of Madame Olbrechts, who welcomed members of the Council to her beautiful home at Tervuren.

Members of the Council were particularly grateful for the amenities of the Club de la Fondation Universitaire which contributed so much to their individual comfort and enjoyment and to the successful organization of the meetings.

OBITUARY

MISS MARGARET WRONG

MARGARET WRONG's sudden death in Uganda on 11 April will be felt as a deeply personal loss by a great multitude of all sorts and conditions of men and women, for her sympathies and her friendships, like her interests, were world wide. Her activities in the fields of education, missionary enterprise, and the study of African problems have been described elsewhere; in this Journal it is her services to the Institute and its debt to her which must be recorded, though they cannot easily be assessed. From the early days of the Institute, and soon after she first started her work for Africa, she showed a keen and practical interest in the activities of the Institute and the aims for which it was founded. As a result of her personal efforts a close and fruitful co-operation between the Institute and the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa was established and has been maintained over a number of years. She took an active part in the linguistic work of the Institute, especially the vernacular essay competitions and the discussions on text-books for African schools. During the war she was one of the small committee which, with Sir Hanns Vischer, kept the Institute in being and directed its activities during those difficult years. After the reorganization in 1944 she became a member of the Linguistic Advisory Committee where her experience of Africa, particularly as regards literacy campaigns and the provision of literature, was invaluable in directing the work of the experts to the service of practical needs.

Her many contacts in Africa and the United States were a means of keeping the staff of the Institute in touch with opinions and personalities in those continents, where she used every opportunity to further the usefulness and extend the range of the Institute's activities. Her wide views, her truly international outlook, and her profound understanding of African problems in their human, political, and scientific aspects, made her help and advice eagerly sought and highly prized. And her response to requests for help from members and staff of the Institute—as to those from all her friends and colleagues—was invariably ready, generous, and practical. Our debt to her cannot be estimated, and our sense of loss can only increase with time.

Notes and News

U.N.E.S.C.O. in Nyasaland

NYASALAND will be the setting for a 'pilot project' in education by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, in collaboration with the Nyasaland Government. The experiment will try out the latest techniques and materials, including films and phonographs, for education in literacy, health, agriculture, and community living. The aim will be to raise living standards in a tribal agricultural community and to spread literacy, at first in the vernacular and later in English.

African Students take part in Cultural Survey

FOUR African students of Natal University College took part in the cultural survey of the Transkei carried out by the National Union of South African students with the approval of the Union Department of Native Affairs.

The Housing of Africans in the Union.

THE industrial revolution through which the Union of South Africa is passing entails, as Mr. Stent shows in his article, an increasing urbanization of the African population. So rapid has this been in late years that it has produced an acute housing problem: it is authoritatively estimated that 150,000 houses are needed for Africans alone. The problem is largely financial. Great municipalities, like Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein, have initiated and carried through excellent schemes with the aid of subsidies from the central Government—the maximum is £30 per house—but the rents charged are sub-economic and impose a heavy burden on rate-payers which those in smaller towns are not always ready to bear. The Government is constantly urged to check influx into the towns and to remove Africans who are already domiciled there. Many town councillors are of the opinion that employers should be responsible for housing their own workers. It is now realized that the migration is not temporary but has become a permanent factor in the life of the Union.

The Government has authorized the National and Planning Commission to build sub-economic houses for Africans and is prepared to bear the whole loss incurred in respect of schemes carried out by the Commission. Since the Commission can produce houses at a cheaper rate than the local authorities are able to do—they are said to have proved this ability in regard to houses for Europeans—the Government appears confident of actually saving money by the new plan. Not only houses but roads, drainage, lighting, and communal buildings will now be the responsibility of the Commission. Ownership will remain with them, while administration is vested in the local authorities.

Education for Citizenship in Africa

THE sub-committee set up in March 1946 by the British Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies has now published its report (Col. No. 216, H.M.S.O.) which deals largely with Africa. The authors of the report point out that, since the declared aim of British Colonial policy is the achievement of responsible self-government, it is necessary, if such government is to be democratic, for citizens to be well informed on all matters which are the concern of government, to be capable of forming an independent judgement, and to develop a sense of public responsibility. The sub-committee makes

detailed recommendations as to the manner in which education can foster the acquisition of these qualities; with regard to children in schools it suggests that particular attention should be paid to relating the subjects of study to circumstances and events outside school and to providing opportunities for the exercise of responsibility. Reference is made also to adult education, to plans for mass education, and to the possibility of extending work in adult education through movements such as the Workers' Educational Association and University extension schemes in England. The importance of the cinema, wireless, the Press, and government information services are noted. The report is insistent on the need for educational work to be accompanied by advances in political responsibility, and attaches special importance to the development of local government and to the participation of Africans in development councils and the co-operative movement.

Memorial to Lord Lugard

THE Executive Council of the Institute, at its recent meeting in Brussels, approved a proposal from the Bureau that Lord Lugard, its first chairman, should be commemorated by the institution of a lecture, to be known as the *Lugard Memorial Lecture*, and to be delivered annually, if possible, on the occasion of the meeting of the Executive Council. An invitation to deliver the lecture shall be regarded as an award for meritorious work in the field of African studies.

Each lecturer will receive an honorarium of twenty guineas, or books of an equivalent value; the lecture, unless the Executive Council shall determine otherwise, will be delivered in either English or French and will be published in *Africa*, or in such other form as the Executive Council may recommend.

Inquiry into the Effect of Modern Contacts upon the African Family with Special Reference to Marriage Laws and Customs

A MAJOR research project, for the expenses of which grants have been awarded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the British Colonial Office, is to be carried out under the joint auspices of the Institute and the International Missionary Council. The subject of the inquiry is one which is arousing increasing interest in scientific, missionary, and administrative circles, and its importance for an understanding of the present situation in Africa, and for the solution of many sociological, religious, and administrative problems, will not be questioned.

The inquiry, as planned, will be carried out in two stages. The first stage will be concerned with a survey of the very considerable body of scattered and largely unco-ordinated material already available in published and other documentary sources, and with the preparation of a report which will be of immediate value to those directly concerned with the practical aspects of these questions. As a result of this survey it will be possible to delimit the special aspects of the study and the specific areas in which further researches will be required. It is hoped that field studies in selected areas will constitute the second stage of the inquiry.

The inquiry will be directed by a committee appointed jointly by the International African Institute and the International Missionary Council, and including representatives of the Colonial Social Science Research Council, the *Conférence Romaine des Missions en Afrique*, the Association of Social Anthropologists, and other interested bodies.

Centre Local de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire au Dahomey

LE Centre local de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire au Dahomey a été créé en 1942, mais n'a commencé à s'organiser qu'à la fin de 1944. Son activité s'est orientée tout naturelle-

ment vers l'ethnographie et l'histoire: riche diversité de populations originales, existence dans le Sud du pays d'une vieille monarchie en contact depuis longtemps avec les Européens et dont les traditions demeurent fort vivantes.

Un des premiers soins du Centre a été de réorganiser le Musée historique d'Abomey, qui n'avait qu'une existence précaire, et de préparer la restauration des bâtiments royaux, plus d'ailleurs pour leur intérêt historique que pour leur intérêt architectural. Actuellement les collections de trônes, de vêtements, d'autels portatifs peuvent trouver place dans les salles d'exposition provisoirement aménagées. Les travaux de restauration des parties les plus récentes du palais pourront commencer en 1948, si une aide matérielle suffisante nous est apportée. Le but est de restituer avec autant de fidélité qu'il sera possible, et de façon durable, le cadre de vie du roi et de la cour du Dahomey, et des événements qui ont fait l'objet de tant de récits. En même temps un effort est fait pour rassembler une documentation ancienne: le Centre voudrait en particulier réunir tous les livres de voyageurs, anglais, français, portugais, hollandais, souvent difficiles à trouver, et serait reconnaissant à tous ceux qui pourraient l'aider dans cette tâche.

L'activité de recherches est actuellement centrée sur l'établissement de cartes ethnographique et démographique du Dahomey, du Togo et du Niger français dans le cadre de l'effort entrepris par l'IFAN pour l'ensemble de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. Le personnel spécialisé est malheureusement réduit à un ethnographe et à un préparateur africain. Deux missions ethnographiques temporaires ont été récemment dirigées sur le Dahomey. Les recherches jusqu'ici ont surtout porté sur le Nord du pays, en particulier les populations du massif de l'Atakora, dont la description reste encore à faire. Il s'agit de rassembler le maximum de renseignements sur des populations encore peu pénétrées, si l'on veut pouvoir interpréter avec quelque précision les mouvements et les transformations culturelles qui se dessinent déjà même chez les moins touchées et les plus attachées au sol. Il s'agit aussi d'étudier d'importants problèmes pratiques d'adaptation: naissance ou développement de la notion d'autorité, de chefferie,—remplacement progressif d'une cohésion social d'ordre religieux et initiatique par une cohésion d'ordre politique,—modification de structure résultant de la descente en plaine ou de la colonisation organisée par l'administration pour décongestionner des régions surpeuplées. Des rapprochements féconds avec des travaux ou des enquêtes récents réalisés en Guinée française, en Gold Coast, et jusqu'au Kordofan, sur des populations comparables, pourront être institués de la sorte.

Placé au contact ou à proximité des deux grands territoires britanniques de l'Afrique de l'Ouest, le Centre doit jouer un rôle essentiel dans l'ordre de la collaboration scientifique internationale dans cette région. Il s'efforcera au cours de l'année 1948, d'établir des contacts avec les chercheurs en place dans les territoires voisins. L'établissement des cartes, en particulier, exige des collaborations les plus larges, et fournira l'occasion de nouer des liens que l'on peut espérer définitifs. D'ailleurs, le Centre pense être bientôt en mesure de procurer aux chercheurs, par sa bibliothèque et son centre de documentation de Porto Novo, la base indispensable à tout travail au Dahomey.

Communiqué par P. MERCIER, Chef du Centre du Dahomey I.F.A.N.

Means of Navigation in Africa

THE Institut Français d'Afrique Noire has invited information concerning means of navigation in Africa—country craft, sailing-ships, dug-outs, &c. A questionnaire, indicating the nature of the information required, will be supplied on application to: Le Directeur, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar, Sénégal, or to Mr. J. Poujade, Centre IFAN, Conakry, French Guinea.

Bissao Conference

THE second session of the International Conference of West Africanists (C.I.A.O.) was held at Bissao, Portuguese Guinea, from 8 to 17 December last, through the courtesy of the Governor of Portuguese Guinea, H.E. Sarmiento Rodrigues, and the Portuguese authorities. The Conference was, as before, organized in three sections, devoted respectively to physical, biological, and human studies. About thirty delegates in all from Portugal, Portuguese Guinea, French West Africa, Great Britain, the Gambia, Spain, and the Spanish dependencies attended the Conference. A wide range of papers was submitted, and the majority were read and discussed.

Of outstanding interest were a number of communications on Paleolithic industries in Portuguese Guinea; new discoveries and interpretations concerning early exploration and colonization in West Africa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; a preliminary report of the results of an intensive nutrition study being carried out in a Mandinka community in the Gambia, and studies of the ethnology and social organization of hitherto little-known peoples of Portuguese Guinea. The last have been stimulated by the recent establishment of a research centre at Bissao under the direction of Lt. A. Teixeira da Mota; this research centre has already published a number of ethnographical studies and is hoping to be able to organize more intensive researches in the near future.

The Portuguese Committee is arranging for the publication of a complete record of this Conference, and the Permanent Secretary, Professor Th. Monod, announced that the full report of the first Conference held at Dakar in 1945 was in the press and would appear shortly.

The Portuguese authorities provided facilities for a lengthy excursion through the northern and western parts of Portuguese Guinea, during which visits were made to Balanta, Papel, and Bijagos as well as to Mandinka and Fula communities.

The Conference expressed its warm gratitude to the Portuguese authorities and in particular to the Governor of Portuguese Guinea, who took a close personal interest in the Conference, and contributed a notable review of social and economic development in Portuguese Guinea. He attended many of its sessions, and availed himself of the opportunity of personal discussions with the delegates from the various countries.

On the recommendation of the Permanent Committee, the Conference proposed that the following should be included among the subjects discussed at the next Conference:

- (a) Soil erosion and deterioration: causes and remedies.
- (b) Origin and distribution of laterites.
- (c) Problems of denudation (peneplanation) in Africa.
- (d) The role of marine and riverine resources in West African economy.
- (e) Flora and fauna of West Africa: problems of development and distribution.
- (f) Standards of living and their relation to physical, technical, and social conditions.
- (g) History of the cultures of the Western Sudan.
- (h) Problems of large-scale agricultural development.
- (i) The role of indigenous institutions in the maintenance of social cohesion.
- (j) The human geography of urban development in West Africa.
- (k) Land tenure: the effects of colonial development.

Among other recommendations of the Conference were the following:

That the Republic of Liberia should at the earliest possible opportunity participate in the common effort by collaborating in the next conference and in the International Committee.

That, in order to ensure that the preparation of the proposed International West African Atlas should be carried out on an international basis, the C.I.A.O. accepts the proposal of IFAN that the role of International Committee for the Atlas be assumed by the Permanent

Committee of the C.I.A.O., and that responsibility for the secretariat of the Committee be undertaken by the section of Geography of IFAN.

That the Conference considers necessary, not only an increased production of maps and population censuses for West Africa, but also the adoption of such a standardized system of procedure as may be most suitable from the point of view of scientific accuracy and of the purposes in view.

That the widest publicity be given to the proposal of Lt. Teixeira da Mota concerning a revision of the orthography of place-names in West Africa, and that Governments and competent authorities be invited to consider the corrections formulated.

That, in order to advance knowledge of early navigation on the West coasts of Africa, excavations should be systematically undertaken by the Departments of Antiquities of the countries concerned, in the coastal islands and favourable sites at the mouths of rivers south of the Atlas mountains.

That studies concerned with the effects of contacts between different cultures be developed in accordance with an extensive and systematic scheme, the results obtained in each area being examined and compared with those of other areas at subsequent meetings of C.I.A.O.

The Conference also expressed the hope that it might be possible for the next meeting to be held in a British West African territory. Since the Bissao meeting the Government of Nigeria and the British Colonial Office have agreed in principle to invite the third Conference to meet in Nigeria, and negotiations to that effect are in progress.

Further information concerning the C.I.A.O. can be obtained from its Permanent Secretary, Professor Th. Monod, Director, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, Dakar, French West Africa; and with regard to the Bissao meeting from Professor A. A. Mendes Correia, 88 Junqueira, Lisbon, Portugal.

The International African Institute will be happy to give members any further information in its possession, and announcements with regard to the third Conference will be published in *Africa* as soon as they are available.

DARYLL FORDE

Migrant Labour and Tribal Life

PROFESSOR SCHAPERA writes: In his review of my book, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life* (*Africa*, April 1948, pp. 143 ff.), Mr. A. Sandilands correctly describes Table XI as 'very inaccurate', but his comment, as it stands, suggests that I am responsible for the inaccuracy. In fact, had he read more carefully the paragraphs immediately preceding and following the Table, he would have seen it stated explicitly (*a*) that the figures given in the Table are derived primarily from returns submitted by district officers about the distribution of Native manpower, both in Bechuanaland and elsewhere, and (*b*) that owing to the methods of collection and sampling employed, especially in the Ngwato Reserve, those figures 'cannot be accepted unreservedly' (op. cit., p. 35). My own estimates are given in Table XII (pp. 36 ff.), which also includes 'the correct figures . . . of the territory's war-effort' that Mr. Sandilands implies I have omitted.

Abstracts of Some Recent Papers

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: MARRIAGE

G. E. J. B. BRAUSCH, 'La famille dans la Haut Lukenie', *Bulletin des Juridictions indigènes et du Droit coutumier congolais*, Elisabethville; 15th year, No. 6, Nov.-Dec. 1947.¹ Among the Ankutshu and Ohindu 76 per cent. of the families are monogamous, 24 per cent. polygamous; it is rare to find men with three or four wives. Four periods may be distinguished in the life of a biological family: (1) the prenuptial preparatory period, called *mbutu*, or betrothal; (2) the nuptial preprogenitive period; (3) the nuptial progenitive period; (4) the nuptial postprogenitive period. The prenuptial period is to be distinguished from the prenuptial associations described by M. Brausch in a previous article (see *Africa*, Jan. 1948, pp. 58 ff.) since it leads to the setting up of new families. Among the Ohindu 37 per cent. and among the Ankutshu 33 per cent. of the males are unmarried; those of mature age being 10 per cent. of the Ohindu and 14 per cent. of the Ankutshu; figures for bachelors under 20 are 21 and 10. The divergence is due to the older age at which the Ohindu marry. Celibacy is more rare among women than among men.

Before the family of the bride is approached, the father of the prospective bridegroom brings the case before the kin-council which first inquires into questions of exogamy: marriage is forbidden with a girl of the unilateral group to which the man belongs or with a girl of any group with which kinship can be traced within living memory. A match with any member of a family reputed to be sorcerers or evil-doers would be refused without pity. If the kin-council refuse, the young man must either submit or try to gather the bridewealth by his own efforts. If they agree, his relations will provide the gifts he is to take to the girl's parents. He goes in person to the girl's father who summons the heads of related families, and one or more members of the Leopard fraternity, to hear him and then they consult the girl and her mother. The same questions are discussed as in the other kin-council. If there is opposition, the girl makes herself heard and may even threaten to elope with her lover. If consent is given the girl's father goes to the man's home and asks whether he will fulfil all obligations. This promise given, the representative of the Leopards claims the customary calabashes of palm-wine: one for himself, one each for the girl's father and mother. Then the young man hands the Leopard two lumps of salt: one is given whole to the girl's mother, the other is divided between the father and the Leopards. The father keeps part of his and distributes the rest to his kindred. Then the man gives the father a fowl and he passes it on to his wife. The girl's father, by sipping the wine in the presence of the other party, definitely consents to the betrothal of his daughter. From all this it is clear that the agreement of the parties is shown by the giving and accepting of small valueless articles in the presence of witnesses, including the representative of the powerful Leopard society. Henceforth the young man must busy himself in carrying out his obligations to the girl and her family—collecting or making the *mbutu* gifts, calabashes of palm-wine, fish-traps for his future mother-in-law, cloths for the girl, and so on. Then he must visit her home and work in the fields, and help in building. These occupations give the girl's kindred opportunity to judge his capacity. The girl, on her part, has to render services by way of kindness, not as obligations. If any child is born before the marriage, it belongs by right to the maternal kin, though after the wedding it may be given to the husband as a gesture of good-will. By acceptance of his gifts and services the girl's family oblige themselves to keep her for him and she cannot engage herself to two lovers at the same time. The

¹ For the first article on this subject, see *Africa*, vol. xviii, no. 1.

customary law provides sanctions against parents who accept pledges from two or more fiancés for the same daughter.

When the fiancé has acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the girl's father he gains consent to the marriage. A deputation consisting of his father, mother, and several kinsmen go to the girl's village where they meet the kin-council and several members of the Leopard society who play the part of notaries in the arrangements. These demand the reason for the visit and after ample discussion announce the kin-group's consent to the marriage and ask for the bridewealth, *djelo dja mbala*. At one time this consisted of one to three bows, say, 10-30 francs; now 15 bows valued at 450 francs. The girl gives her consent by placing the bridewealth before her father, and he takes it up as a sign that he too agrees. Then the Leopards announce that the girl is no longer free and that any man who has relations with her will render himself liable to punishment for adultery.

The parties separate after sealing the pact by means of palm-wine; and preparations are made for the final ceremony. When all is ready her father and mother take her to the groom's village together with her kitchen utensils, pots, calabashes, and baskets. That evening members of the two families fraternize over palm-wine and for the first time the bride is allowed to enter her husband's hut. In the morning he asks three of his friends to bring firewood into the house, and then invites an old kinswoman to light a fire in the presence of the parents of the couple: this act definitely consecrates the marriage.

The principal juridical effect of the marriage is the fidelity demanded of the wife. The husband is not bound in the same degree.

ANTOINE OMARI, 'Le mariage coutumier chez les Bakusu', Kongo-Overzee, Antwerp; vol. xiv, No. 1.¹ Custom demands that a man be free to make his own choice of a mate; but rich people sometimes marry their sons without consulting them, knowing that it will be easy for them to choose other wives later on. It is always the man that takes the initiative. Girls may be betrothed before birth. Custom admits a period of trial after the engagement; the fiancée goes to live with her fiancé for a month or so. If they are both satisfied marriage will follow; if not, the engagement is broken. The bridewealth is the indispensable element, without which there is no marriage, in spite of mutual consent. In principle the amount for an initial marriage is undetermined. If a woman gets a divorce in order to marry again and her parents cannot restore the bridewealth, it falls to the second man to provide at least as much as is due to the first. If he does not, she must go back to the latter. Rich people will therefore pay heavy bridewealth out of fear of being deprived by competition of a beautiful wife. Most families impose a limit in order to bridle the commercial tendency. In old times the bridewealth was composed of goats, sheep, dogs, fowls, arms, objects of art, and perhaps pots of salt and calabashes of oil; now it generally takes the form of money and European goods; a value of between 1,000 and 3,000 francs. The transfer of bridewealth must be done publicly before two or more witnesses who are not members of the family; the presence of the fiancée is indispensable. She receives the first goat, or the money, and passes it to her father, thus confirming her deliberate consent. After all has been handed over a witness of the fiancée's party counts them aloud. A witness of the other party does the same; and now the customary marriage is concluded. Since young Bakusu have learnt to write, a receipt in duplicate, giving names of the witnesses, is drawn up. A fee is paid of 5-10 francs to each witness and the secretary.

The bride provides the nuptial feast. After the formalities described above she spends several days at home and then, escorted by friends carrying baskets of food, she goes to the groom's village and prepares the feast. Before the end of the festivity a clan councillor speaks a congratulatory discourse, giving advice to the newly wed couple; in particular he dwells

¹ The author is a native African.

upon the husband's faults. He is followed by a speaker on the bride's side who points out her weaknesses and commends her to the groom's patience.

The virginity of the bride does not concern anybody during the festivity. Conjugal relations are considered a sacred secret between man and wife. After the wedding the parents-in-law hand the husband certain goods, which the author describes as *la dot en contre-partie*; there must be witnesses and receipts as with the bridewealth, for these goods will be deducted from the bridewealth in case of restitution. Everything that the bride provides belongs to her; while what is given by her parents to the husband is his.

The wife may be divorced for persistent adultery, sterility, disobedience, unjustified absence from home, intemperance, voluntary abortion, treachery (public witness against her husband), &c.; the man for sexual impotence, brutality to the wife, infidelity to the sexual secret, desertion, &c. The bridewealth must be reimbursed. But if a man sends his wife away without good reason, or because of illness or fracture of a limb, the bridewealth may be reduced by one-half or two-thirds. Sometimes the man gives up all claim to the goods—if his wife has borne children, if his father-in-law is dead or poor. In every case of divorce the children remain with the father.

DEMOGRAPHY

J. PARADIS, 'La situation démographique du district de l'Uele', Zaire, Brussels; Oct. 1947. The author was struck, when travelling through the Uele district of Belgian Congo in 1944 and 1945, by the scarcity of young people, and he was incited thereby to make a demographic study of the district. He found that the available documentation was quite inadequate, that statistical methods in use were superficial, and he evolved a new plan which he put into operation in 1946 and 1947. The most simple method for arriving at a summary opinion on the demographic situation of any group consists in analysing (a) the relation between the number of women and that of children; (b) the composition of the group in men, women, and children, by groups of 1,000 individuals; (c) the composition of the groupings according to four age-groups, viz. children under 3 years; children between 3 and 15; adults between 15 and 45; old people over 45. In 22 chiefdoms totalling 51,241 he found that in every 1,000 there were 349 men, 374 women, and 277 children. In the four age-groups there were 58, 219, 531, and 192 per 1,000. For a Bantu group to be considered not in regression there should, it is generally agreed, be a minimum of 130 children to 100 women; and for a group to be considered progressive it should have at least 150 children to 100 women. He secured some not very satisfactory figures for 1936, and on comparing them with those for 1946 he found: (a) that in all the territories of the Uele the proportion E/F (i.e. children/women) in 1946 was below the minimum necessary for stability; (b) that during the last decade that index has suffered a falling off of 9.62 per cent.; (c) that in three territories (which he names) the situation is particularly catastrophic, the indices E/F being from 53 to 58 per cent. instead of 130 per cent.: this presages the total disappearance of the groups in three generations.

The composition of a stable but not progressive Bantu community is shown in this formula: 292 men, 308 women, 400 children per 1,000. This represents: 95 men for 100 women; 130 children for 100 women; 136 children for 100 men; 67 children for 100 adults; 106 women for 100 men; 242 women and children for 100 men; 150 adults for 100 children. Already in 1936 the figures deviated considerably from this formula, in regard to the proportion of children. In 1946 the deficit of children per 1,000 was 277 against 96 in 1936. Passing on to analysis by age-groups he finds himself in difficulty because pre-war statistics do not distinguish children under 3 from those above 3; but he reckons that people over 45 in 1936 were 69 per 1,000, and in 1946, 192. So far his conclusion is: the situation in the Uele, very bad in 1936, is decidedly worse ten years later. The author goes on to consider

in detail the situation of nine groupings which are demographically stable or progressive. In regard to infant mortality he calculates that about 17 per cent. die in the first year, 6 per cent. in the second year, 4 per cent. in the third year. The figure for the first year is not exceptional for prolific populations. It is reckoned that the birth-rate per 1,000 inhabitants has decreased from 24.58 per cent. in 1936 to 20.80 per cent. in 1946. Of 19,172 women studied in 1946, 44.51 per cent. had never borne a child; 17.32 had borne one; 11.98, two; 7.88, three; 5.87, four; 5.03, five. Tables are given to show the degree of masculine and feminine sterility. In the 22 groupings, 15 show that from 50 to 60 per cent. of the men have not begotten; and four show from 60 to 70 per cent. Of 37,039 adults studied, it was found that 8.22 per cent. of the men and 8.49 per cent. of the women (including widows) were living immorally. A table comparing the number of children of monogamous and polygamous families shows a slight balance in favour of monogamy; but in three of the groupings, which are among the most prolific, the polygamists have a larger proportion of children to 100 married women: the figures are: (1) monogamist, 178; polygamist, 184; (2) 233-8; (3) 184-240.

EDUCATION

E. R. CHADWICK, 'Communal Development in Udi division', *Oversea Education*, London; vol. xix, No. 2 (Jan. 1948).¹ Describes an experiment that was started on a small scale in June 1944 in the Onitsha Province of Nigeria to see whether communal development was feasible by voluntary labour among the Ibo. The way had been paved by administrative and agricultural officers, the former through development of clan councils and the latter through instruction in better methods of farming. They created a lively interest in the possibility of material progress paid for from local funds. In June 1944 Mr. Chadwick received the booklet on Mass Education and secured volunteers among the African clerks for his experiment. Cheap local school materials were improvised and primers and booklets printed. When he informed the native authority of his proposals two or three family heads wished a trial to be made in their village. On visiting it he found the people had in two days built a hall in which to hold the classes. Four communities were selected for the first tests. At some hardly any women attended, whereas in others about 50 per cent. were women. At all villages a large proportion of the children of both sexes attended. At Ogowfia the experiment took a course of its own. About 600, or over 25 per cent. of the total population, turned out regularly for instruction in the village meeting-place on market afternoons. They raised a fund of £30 to buy reading and writing materials. They were helped to acquire a hand oil-press and a nut-cracking machine and the profit went into the village fund. A co-operative consumers' shop was suggested; assistance was given to buy iron for the roof, but the villagers bought other materials and did all the work free of charge, and in this way they erected the first co-operative consumers' shop in Nigeria. They set to work to build a village reading-room. The women then agitated for a maternity home and this was eventually put up, as well as a sub-dispensary. For the home each adult woman was required to contribute half a crown, which became the membership fee for the women's co-operative society that took over the running of the home. All the shop's profits were devoted to the same end. Grants of about £130 were made by the native administration. Many other projects followed. By the end of 1946 over thirty communities were copying Ogowfia. Development does not follow a set plan imposed by authority from above. It springs from the wishes of the people below. Some build bridges; another a water-supply; another a village for their lepers; another a market. Thus the only rule guiding a village in its choice of plans is: what do the people want most? By the end of 1946, 10 communities

¹ The author is a Senior District Officer.

had made motor-roads, varying from 3 to 10 miles in length; 6 co-operative shops had been built, 5 sub-dispensaries, 3 village reading-rooms, 2 maternity units, and others were under construction. The number nominally attending literacy classes was over 12,000. Certificated teachers with one or two exceptions were found to be the least public-spirited of all the people who were called upon to assist their illiterate brothers to learn to read and write.

FOLK-LORE

PAUL-E. JOSET, 'Buda Efeba (Contes et légendes Pygmées)', *Zaire*, Brussels; vol. ii, Nos. 1 & 2 (Jan.-Feb. 1948). A collection of thirty-five tales made by the author during his sojourn in the Ituri forest where he came into contact with the Ati-Efe, the Efe pygmies, and found that they possessed a very extensive literature. He collected the tales by the help of a narrator named Mbene but he does not say whether he acquired the language or used an interpreter; some specimens of the original Efe text (if any) would have been welcome. The tales are divided thus: (1) illustrative of pygmy life; (2) about animals; (3) about the heavenly bodies; (4) psychological tales reflecting the state of mind of certain individuals. It is related that Alu (the word primarily means 'space above', 'sky', 'heaven', 'God') begat first the sun and then the moon and the stars. The stars begat men. Alu also begat the earth and planted maize there. The first maize burst before it was ripe, being dried by the sun. Then Alu planted other maize in the wet season and it ripened well. One day, seeing the men walking sadly on earth, Alu said to himself: 'Men cannot live alone. They need some one to prepare their field, cook their food and share their bed.' So he conceived woman. Humans multiplied to such a degree that the stars were astonished to have such an important succession. Moon married a daughter of Star and they lived long happy days. One day Star said to Moon: 'From now on your work will be to watch the eyes of my wives and to see that they shine brightly at night.' Some time afterwards Moon fell in love with one of Sun's daughters and demanded her in marriage. Sun accepted but asked for one of Moon's daughters in exchange. One morning when the Sun had gone on his usual circuit, Moon's daughter went off and in the evening when Sun returned one of his other wives told him of it and he hurried off to Moon's domicile. Moon had already departed on his nightly journey but his daughter was there and Sun seized her and carried her home. Afterwards Sun fell in love with the eldest daughter of Star and received her in marriage, much to the disgust of Moon's daughter, his other wife, who constantly quarrelled with her. Star's daughter declared: 'If you dare strike me my father will come at once.' Indeed, hearing his daughter's cries, he did come and took her away and said: 'From now on you will stay here at home. No other man shall marry you, they are all too bad.' The story goes on at great length to recount other marital adventures. According to another tale, at the beginning the sky was below and the earth above. When men went out to gather food the earth fell on them. Alu said: 'We must change all this. Earth shall be below and the sky above.' Then men planted things and they ripened well. Alu also gave men water and those who drank it got good understanding of things. Now, before this change, there were men above and men below. Those who were above descended and those who were below ascended. But the latter became bad—no one has seen them, but it is known that they are bad. The moon and the stars are all inhabited by men. We never see them but at night their eyes shine and look down upon us. The moon and the sun are married. The moon begat four children, the sun five. Sometimes the moon sends his children to walk the earth to see what is going on. They descend by means of a long thread and when they have had their walk they return above by the same path. 'Men, when you become able you will ascend above and you will see Alu; but as long as you live here you will never see him, for he is hidden from our eyes.'

Reviews of Books

Negroes in Britain: A Study of Racial Relations in English Society. By KENNETH LITTLE. London, Kegan Paul, 1948. Pp. xiii+292. Price 25s. net.

IN this latest addition to the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction we have a dual approach to the study of racial relations in Britain: the approach through history and the approach through sociological research in a survey conducted in Cardiff. The latter occupies the earlier portion of the book, and is introduced by a brief dissertation on sociological and ecological method in an urban society as compared with anthropological method in preliterate communities. Doubtless the author had a definite reason for adopting this order, but the opposite arrangement would seem more natural as well as more effective, particularly for the general reader to whom title and sub-title are certain to make a strong appeal. Fortunately the two sections are in reality two separate books and the general reader may well begin at p. 165 with the excellent historical résumé of the 350 years since non-whites began to appear in Britain. That résumé being followed by three chapters entitled respectively 'The Development of English Racial Attitudes', 'The Coloured Man through English Eyes', and 'The Coloured Man's Reaction to the English', in which balanced judgement and notable understanding become obvious (e.g. the footnote on p. 249), it is probable that the majority of readers will adventure on the Cardiff Survey. They will find themselves in the class-room of a science whose vocabulary may be unfamiliar but the interest generated by what they have already read will carry them through. After all, if such painstaking work as this, so readably presented, is to have its reward it must surely be through its reaching and influencing the greatest possible number of ordinary folk who themselves are growingly conscious of personal involvement to-day in these 'colour-problems' of an imperial people.

It was interesting, as one read through the book, to note how this aspect of the matter settled on the mind as central and personal. One noted, too, how far-seeing people of the previous generation had issued their warnings, as for example in a speech by the late Sir Harry Johnston in London in 1913 (p. 193): 'If we are to maintain this mighty empire on such lines that all our fellow subjects will belong to it of their own free will, then we must minister to their advanced education and make the great educational centres of Britain attractive to the coloured peoples who wish to come here.'

The result of not heeding these warnings is revealed in these words written by an African to-day (p. 253): 'I thought that on leaving South Africa for England I was at the same time leaving the infamous colour bar behind. . . . I have been quite disillusioned. . . . The treatment of coloured people in London almost forces one to believe that colour bar is the policy of the British Empire.'

That this situation was present in Dr. Little's own mind is clear from his Preface. Throughout the whole report of the Cardiff Survey one feels that the remarkable human warmth which succeeds in breathing through what might otherwise have been statistical frigidity is mainly the result of this realization of being personally involved in an imperial situation. It is, of course, a mis-statement to call us as a nation an 'imperial people', since quite 80 per cent. of us are not conscious of personal involvement in imperial destiny at all. But a book such as this can leave no other impression than just that and it is to be regretted that publishing conditions to-day have made the price what it is.

CULLEN YOUNG

Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria. By P. A. BOWER, Dr. A. J. BROWN, Dr. C. LEUBUSCHER, J. MARS, and Sir ALAN PIM: being the second volume of a study of the 'Economics of a Tropical Dependency', edited by Margery Perham. Published under the auspices of Nuffield College, Faber and Faber, London, 1948. Pp. xxviii+386+2 maps. Price 35s. net.

THE publication of this book, which was written during the war, has been unfortunately delayed. As the editor says, there is no need to apologize: the facts and analyses which it contains are welcome, yet the reviewer must warn readers how things have changed. Nigeria has lately received better prices for her products, and, owing to the control of wholesale prices, the increased spending power has enriched African middlemen. Their efforts to invest capital, a notable feature in Nigeria to-day, are hardly mentioned. In one chapter mention is made of the fact that local investors have opened up an alluvial gold-field, but elsewhere the squeezing out of the old generation of African traders is referred to. Those who know the Nigerian traders of to-day, old and young, many of them wealthy as no Englishman can now grow wealthy, will find the idea strange. In 1939 we thought as a rich country, concerned with our responsibilities towards primitive communities suffering from low commodity prices. Now that Britain is poor in means of payment overseas, and terms of trade have changed to the advantage of primary producers, a restatement of the roles which metropolitan and colonial economies need to fulfil for mutual advantage is necessary.

The contributions on mining, trade policy, and public finance are storehouses of objective facts. The chapter about trading companies calls attention to the danger of monopolistic practices, but readers may feel that theoretical analyses of what may happen are hardly sufficiently balanced by factual evidence of what actually occurs. No attention is given to Government's refusal to allow outside capital to develop modern techniques in agriculture. This ban, however justified on general grounds, is the main reason why trading companies have done less to create wealth in Nigeria than in territories such as the Congo and Liberia. Reference is made to a textile project; it would have been interesting to find an account of why the Government 'dissuaded' the United Africa Company from proceeding with it. Large industrial developments, too recent to be mentioned in this volume, afford hope that government policy and the enterprise of oversea capital may now be in closer step. The suggestions offered to the companies in the book have to some extent been fulfilled between the dates of writing and publication. In *Statistical and Economic Review*, No. 1, published by the United Africa Company, it is stated that inland selling points were reduced from 620 in 1939 to 401 in 1947, while the number of African managers rose from 9 to 50. The chapter on finance sets out the deflationary effects of the currency system, and it is unlikely that its main conclusions will be contested. The study of the balance of payments is of value, and offers a technique which should be employed to assess the balance of payments in post-war conditions, now that Britain transfers to Nigeria so much for military purposes and for development and welfare.

F. J. PEDLER

Studies in African Native Law. By JULIUS LEWIN. Cape Town: The African Bookman; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; Oxford: Basil Blackwell Limited, 1947. Pp. vii+174. 15s.

THESE essays and addresses have already been published separately in various journals, but it is useful to have them collected. They form an admirable text-book for any student entering the field of race relations or the study of law in Africa. They will also interest all who are studying the changes which African life is undergoing. The writing is clear and succinct, despite many repetitions.

Data are taken from law reports, commissions, and the work of social anthropologists, and some statements I think are guesses. Mr. Lewin has done no field research, though he opens a big field of research on published sources. The essays mainly outline some of the problems involved in the recognition of African law in civil suits between Africans, with particular reference to the induction of Africans into the general economic and social organization of the Union of South Africa. Lewin rightly stresses the fact that Africans do not live in tribal reserves from which, as from bases, they can raid the European economy for the luxury of money. He treats them as part of a section of modern world economy, which increasingly affects their relationships with each other. 'In these circumstances the possibility of two systems of law running concurrently in one country will disappear. It is time to recognize the fact that Native law has no future in South Africa as a system separate from the Common Law of the land. It is time for that ancient term, the Common Law, to acquire a new and richer significance as the law applicable alike to Europeans and Natives in the common country of white and black' (p. 48).

Most of the points dealt with arise in the law of persons, since comparatively few contracts were known to African law; but Lewin shows that problems due to the conflict of laws, both between Common Law and Native law and between the laws of different tribes, occur also in connexion with contractual breaches and delicts between Africans. He indicates that these problems cannot be handled satisfactorily by legislation alone, and implies that courts dealing with cases between Africans should be staffed by well-trained judges who could solve such conflicts by the general principles which have been worked out for private international law.

Crime, which is handled by the ordinary courts of the land, is the subject of two essays. In an address to a Penal Reform Conference Lewin, speaking as a lawyer, pleads that the whole treatment of the African by Union legislation and administrative regulation inevitably makes him doubt the rule of law and the impartiality of police and judiciary. Prison is the lot of almost every African under a variety of technical offences; native administration is based on negative repression rather than positive injunction. The end will be 'a large army of lawless and embittered Africans on whose co-operation it will be impossible to count even under a revised system of law and administration. This army threatens to reach its maximum strength and size when the growing trend towards an industrial and urban society in South Africa would in any event result in an increase of crime as it has done all the world over.' Last September Africans stoned three European policemen to death; later other Africans killed administrative African police. The Union reaction is an increase of repressive force. This contrasts sadly with the British Government's reaction after the Ibo women's riots: if they riot, there must be something wrong with our administration.

Lewin points out the poverty of our knowledge of African law and pleads for a recording of its substantive body throughout British Africa. Only Bechuanaland has a handbook, compiled by Schapera. Lewin pleads also for more study of the conflicts between the various systems of law in Africa. 'What wouldn't Maine have given to study the practice in a country like ours (the Union) whose tradition combines substantial elements of primitive law, Roman law, Roman-Dutch law, and English law!' he exclaims. One is led to ask, is Lewin too modest to try himself the course that Maine would have longed to take? Why has he not, during his years as Senior Lecturer in Native Law and Administration at Witwatersrand University, produced some solid studies of this conflict of laws?

I ask this question because Lewin complains that social anthropologists do not record African law. 'Nor has African law received adequate attention from social anthropologists, who are seldom interested in the issues raised by its legal recognition,' he states in the Preface, and returns to the accusation again: 'Many points of Native law are still obscure, mainly because our historical records are incomplete, and because modern field-workers

do not aim at recording all the complicated detail which lawyers find in practice they require to know (p. 9). . . . The study of primitive life is a fascinating affair, and no doubt we can easily understand why field-workers have concentrated on the complexities of kinship, the vagaries of witchcraft, or the subtleties of ancestor-worship in preference to undertaking the dull work of recording the substance of primitive law in a way that would win the appreciation of puzzled lawyers and harassed administrators' (pp. 13-14). I would suggest that Mr. Lewin might himself undertake the collection of such data; if he were to attempt it he would learn that in Natal at least there is a rich untapped mine of information, which he does not mention in his essay on 'The Sources of Native Law', in the records and judgements of Native Commissioners. Further, Lewin claims to be a follower of Pound and quotes with approval the statement that 'the legal order is a phase of social control and, to be understood, must be taken in its setting among social phenomena' (p. 9). The vagaries of witchcraft and the subtleties of the ancestral cult have something to do with social control. The muddles in inheritance and marriage cases which Lewin analyses show that even the complexities of kinship are not irrelevant for an understanding of African law.

Lewin carries his prejudice against social anthropologists so far that he even blames them for the Union Parliament's accepting, in 1927, the theory that Native law should be a separate, segregated, law, and that policy should no longer aim at a single embracing Common Law (pp. 13 ff.). 'For lawyers and even legislators are capable of learning however slowly. In time the work of the anthropologists created a mental climate that encouraged a new respect for Native customs and, above all, for Native law. And so, in the year 1927, Parliament gave a qualified recognition to Native law throughout the Union and an unqualified recognition to the central institution of Native law, the practice of *lobolo*.' The absurdity of this charge is shown by data in the book itself. The Natal Native Code was proclaimed in the 1850s and there are reports of the Natal High Court from 1899 to 1915. Lewin even emphasizes that as far back as 1880 and 1891 'there are cases on record in which the judges showed as penetrating an insight into Native custom as any anthropologist' (p. 108). Nevertheless, it is to the influence of anthropologists that he ascribes the opening of the newly formed Native Appeal Court, described by its President as 'a simple forum like a tribal court'. I find it flattering that anyone as intelligent as Mr. Lewin should think that my teachers had enough influence to produce the Native Administration Act of 1927, but I fear it was only the beginning of the whole Hertzog segregation policy. The roots of this policy lie deep in South African policy, and many sound arguments can be adduced to justify some form of separate court. Nevertheless, I, in common with many liberal anthropologists, share Lewin's disquiet that the Native Appeal Court has stressed separation rather than coalescence of the laws.

There are three small points. Lewin has to follow the judges in speaking of 'dowry' where the correct term is bridewealth or -price, or marriage-payment. Then he is surely not serious in suggesting that crime, commerce, property, and procedure are all 'branches of law in which Native custom cannot provide rules since they reflect phenomena unknown in Native life' (p. 105)? Finally, either Lewin, or the Government Printer, or the judge (the primary source) must have meant *indlunkulu* and not *ikohlo* in line 14 of page 140.

MAX GLUCKMAN

Organisme d'enquête pour l'étude anthropologique des populations indigènes de l'A.O.F. Alimentation-Nutrition, Rapport no. 2. Soudan occidental, Sénégal, par. Léon Pales, Dakar: Direction Générale de la Santé Publique, 1946, pp. 211 (maps).

THE Mission's second report deals mainly with a three months' tour into the Sudan (July-October), where nutritional, anthropometric, and psychological studies along the lines instituted at Dakar were pursued in the regions of Bamako, Segou, and Markala. This

section of the report describes the work accomplished without presenting the worked-up results, but there is a certain amount of general discussion and comment. A shorter section gives some preliminary results of biochemical investigation at Dakar. In the Sudan some 2,000 subjects were measured, drawn mainly from military establishments, labour-gangs, and schools, since the people of the villages were too much occupied with the daily routine to allow extensive study. The material was therefore very heterogeneous in tribal origin. Satisfactory growth data were often hard to obtain because the age of the children was uncertain. The same difficulty arose when an attempt was made to collect data for studies on psychological maturation. Moreover, the range of age in a class might be as great as eight years, partly because of the periodic absence of some pupils who were needed for work at home, or in some cases to attend Koran schools. A class could not be taken as representative of an age-group. The children were also mixed in ethnic origin, only about 50 per cent. having both parents from the same ethnic group. The authors comment on the healthy psychological condition of children in the Leper Institute, which they attribute to a closer corporate life with the parents, due to their enforced isolation. The village schools have few pupils and are badly equipped. The children showed great perseverance in the tests (standard intelligence tests, memory tests, and psycho-physiological), but in those dependent on the interpretation of drawings, the European convention of representation was not understood, although they were quite capable of making their own schematized drawings of the same objects. A simple drawing test in which the child draws a named object is recommended for relatively unschooled children.

A good deal of space is devoted to a discussion of the agricultural economy of the regions and its bearing on nutrition. The staple food is millet with rice, maize and fonio as the chief secondary crops. Considering the unvaried character and often miserable quantity of the native rations, the mission was surprised to see so little frank deficiency disease and suspected that nutritionally important supplements may have been overlooked in the survey.

Cattle are kept by negro proprietors and left in the hands of Peul (Fula) herdsmen, but they are not killed for meat; the milk, however, is consumed. There are fisheries on some parts of the Niger, and dried fish finds its way to the towns, where cost restricts its consumption, but owing to limited transport very little reaches the villages.

The report gives a picture of the primitive agricultural methods in the great millet-producing dry area. The soil is poor and easily exhausted so that it is estimated only 20 per cent. of the area should be under cultivation at one time. The Sudanese native received some knowledge of animal husbandry from north Africa, but the wheel, the yoke, and the plough came to him only recently from Europe to supplement his use of the hoe, and deeply attached as he is to his traditions, he looks on these with suspicion. It is suggested that the harrow of the Near East would be well suited to the thin soil and rough country. The maintenance of fertility by manuring presents difficult problems. At present, apart from the bush-fires which render the land liable to soil erosion, wood-ash is used to some extent, but the vagrant grazing-habits of the communal native cattle, which are few in relation to the crop area, would not allow systematic animal manuring, and the larger-scale use of artificial fertilizers raises many difficulties of supply, cost, transport, and education.

Between harvests food is often very short, but the natives are reluctant to use the Government Stores, because they object to buying back at a higher price the grain they themselves have sold. In general the land in the Sudan is not over-cultivated, but in the Mossi country, for instance, the population is already too great for the existing primitive dry agriculture, and the land must be given fertilizer or the food-supply increased by irrigation and more rice-growing. At the Franco-British Health Conference at Accra (November 1946), a report of which is given, workers from both countries expressed concern lest the population

increase, resulting from more efficient medical services, should lead to disequilibrium with food resources.

The report goes on to give a more detailed account of the various food plants of the region. A botanist has been asked for to deal with identification. Sorghum or large millet is grown in the better-watered south, and in the north it is replaced by *Pennisetum* or small millet. Many species of rice are grown, some African, as in the stagnant submersion culture of the Central Delta and the Lakes, and some Asiatic, in the upper Niger and Guinea regions. The irrigation culture of the Niger demands migrant labour which often means that the labourer loses contact with the traditions of his home agriculture. The method in use in the Central Delta involves the use of the plough, and there is less danger of subsequent erosion and of disruption of local customs. One can make only brief mention of the other resources, which include maize (*Zea mays*) and Fonio (*Digitaria exilis*), which are resorted to in drought, the many varieties of Manioc (*Manihot utilisissima*) and sweet-potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), the important bean *Vigna unguiculata* (Wolof-Nièbè), subterranean pea (*Voandzeia subterranea*), ground-nut (*Arachis hypogea*), and also the Karite nut (*Butyrospermum parkii*) which provides the main source of fat but is inefficiently extracted. Then there are condiments such as parkia seeds, several *Hibiscus* species, onions, and pepper and the mucilaginous gombo (*Hibiscus esculentus*) and baobab, much valued in sauces. Some salt is transported from the sea, some is mined, and vegetable ash is commonly consumed. Fruit is much appreciated, and some such as mango are valuable vitamin C sources, but orchards are few and on the markets fruits are expensive.

The people usually take three meals a day, but at the season of this survey food is very scarce and one meal might be missed. In the dry season some meat and fish is taken with the unvarying main dish of *Tô*, prepared from millet. In the rainy season the men are in the fields and no meat is eaten. At all times the diet is very poor, particularly in animal protein and in fat. *Arachis* leaves and probably others which may be important are used in relishes. A few families, varying in size from 4-10 members which were investigated by the Mission, showed that the ration of millet ranged from 110 to 600 grammes per head per day, while the estimated requirement is 1,000 grammes. The soldiers at the air base in Bamako fared very much better, particularly those whose rations were cooked by their wives.

The final section of the Report gives some figures from biochemical investigations at Dakar. The adaptometric technique for the detection of Vitamin A deficiency was tried out on 100 soldiers and 12 school-children (7-10 years old). The authors think that the children show deficiency in relation to the adults, but it is not clear whether the latter are also regarded as deficient. The results are evidently very preliminary, particularly since fluctuations in the electric supply may have affected the constancy of the light source, and it is suspected that the results may be influenced by the length of the subject's previous exposure to the strong sunlight.

Blood vitamin C estimations on 49 soldiers showed 72 per cent. of the subjects to be deficient, as were 70 per cent. of the pregnant women whose milk was examined. The value of blood vitamin C as a deficiency index is perhaps insufficiently established to accept the results without additional data, using other techniques as well.

Blood calcium estimations on 37 children (8-12 years) showed 51 per cent. below normal levels, the lowest value being 6.5 mgm. per 100 c.c., which is consistent with radiographic indications of ossification defects. On the other hand, only 7.5 per cent. of an adult sample showed clear deficiency. Blood phosphatase was abnormally high (above 7 Bodansky units) in 36 per cent. of the children. The results, as far as they go, indicate a state of multiple dietary deficiency affecting particularly the children.

N. A. BARNICOT

Black Martyrs. By the Rev. J. P. THOONEN. London: Sheed & Ward, 1941. Pp. xviii+302. 12s. 6d. net.

STANLEY's visit to Mutesa of the kingdom of Buganda in 1875 and his published letter inviting a Christian Mission to be sent there stimulated the Church Missionary Society to enter the country in 1877, to be followed soon after by the White Fathers of Algiers to whom had been entrusted Roman Catholic missions in central Africa. Within a decade of the missionaries' arrival both Protestants and Roman Catholics had to face the stern test of persecution at the hands of Mutesa's son and successor, Mwanga, in the course of which African converts suffered martyrdom. The present book is concerned primarily with the twenty-two Roman Catholic martyrs who died between November 1885 and January 1887, twenty of that number in May and June 1886. Their beatification took place in 1920.

The author, who has himself served in Uganda, has provided a careful and well-documented narrative of the events, drawing upon both published and unpublished sources—Roscoe, Mair, and others for anthropological background, and Protestant missionaries like Ashe and Mackay in addition to standard Roman Catholic accounts for the history proper. The unpublished sources consulted are principally the *Processus Ordinarius*, begun in 1887 and containing the official report of the missionaries together with statements of certain witnesses; and the *Processus Apostolicus*, containing sworn testimonies of witnesses heard in Uganda in 1913–14. An annotated bibliography is supplied. The absence of an index is partly compensated for by an analytical table of contents.

All but four of the twenty-two martyrs whose careers are set forth were members of Mwanga's entourage—court officials, bandsmen, and pages. The author sketches in the background of their life at the court of the period, notes the spread of Christianity among them and the rise of Mwanga's hostility, and then in some detail records the actual martyrdoms. The whole heroic story is one of the dramas of African history.

Two matters stand out as significant—the conduct of Mwanga and the loyalty of the converts. Mwanga seems to have been moved by various motives, personal and political. The success of the missionaries in securing converts apparently appeared, to others as well as Mwanga, as a threat to the established order, through the introduction of a new overriding loyalty. Mwanga seems to have been jealous of the missionaries' influence over his court officials and pages; and the latter's refusal to satisfy his unnatural desires (practices said to have been introduced by the Arabs, but condemned by Baganda society) was, it is alleged, a material factor in the case. A vague distrust of European advances in the east Africa coast region (the German activity had just begun and there were at the same time various individual expeditions not without armed escort) stimulated the fear that in the end the country's independence would be lost.

The outstanding quality in the African martyrs is their loyalty as Christians—loyalty to standards of chastity in the unwholesome atmosphere of Mwanga's court, and to the faith when apostasy was the price of life. The author acknowledges the Protestant victims of the persecution as martyrs since they too gave their lives for the truth of Christianity and adhered loyally to the same standards of chastity. This capacity for an utter loyalty has often been revealed as a fundamental feature of the best African character, and will be well enough known to those who have lived in the continent and have experienced African co-operation and friendship. It was not without cause that Booker T. Washington was able to claim that there were few instances either in slavery or freedom in which a member of his race had betrayed a specific trust. The same trait had its classic expression in the devotion of Livingstone's African companions on his last journey as Professor Coupland has recently so vividly reminded us. It is this very quality that makes of such significance the choice being made in our day of the object of African loyalty. There are competing claimants,

and the decision as to who will secure a loyalty which once yielded is not lightly withdrawn will be a fateful one. C. P. GROVES

Afrikanse Negerskulpturer: African Negro Sculptures. By CARL KJERSMEIER. A. Zwemmer, London, 1947 (Copyright Fischers Forlag, Copenhagen). Price 18s. net.

Masks of West Africa. By LEON UNDERWOOD. Alec Tiranti Ltd., London, 1948. Pp. 49 (illus., map). Price 6s. net.

Figures in Wood of West Africa. By LEON UNDERWOOD. Alec Tiranti Ltd., London, 1948. Pp. xlix+45 (illus., map). Price 6s. net.

It is very pleasant in these austere days to meet three new publications all on African sculpture. The first, *African Negro Sculptures*, is an abridgement of Kjersmeier's four-volume work *Centres de style de la sculpture nègre africaine* which appeared from 1935 to 1938 and which still remains the authoritative work on African Negro sculpture. The present volume has been produced presumably for the benefit of those unable to obtain the larger work, now, alas, out of print. It consists of forty plates, reprints from the larger work, each prefaced by a brief note on the carving and on the demography of the tribe to which it is attributed. Beyond correcting a few errors—plate 41 of volume ii is reprinted under the correct classification of Ijo instead of Ibo—it adds nothing to the former work and like it contains no map of any kind. The plates now selected for reprinting are confined to examples from Kjersmeier's own collection but they fail to do justice to what is undoubtedly one of the finest private collections of African Negro art in existence. The unfortunate idea of limiting the choice to one example from each tribe has led to the omission of many of the finest specimens and creates the unfortunate and incorrect impression that the author is more interested in collecting tribes than in works of Negro art. One would gladly have dispensed with the Baga, Bini, Bamum, Turka, and Makonde plates, poor specimens of little aesthetic value, if further examples of Kjersmeier's magnificent Bambara masks and statuettes could have replaced them. In any case, the association of tribal names with particular art styles, though far preferable to the use of colonial territorial names, is not always very satisfactory. For example, the skin-covered head referred to as Ekoi is carved in a style common to most of the tribes of the Middle Cross River extending even to some Ibo and Ibibio (Efik) groups, while the reproduction of a soapstone *nomori* from Sierra Leone under the title Mendi is definitely misleading, particularly when none of the typical 'Bundu' sculpture is shown. Had Kjersmeier's notes been reprinted in full this would have served as a very useful reference book on African Negro sculpture; without them 18s. seems a high price to pay for forty plates of African carvings, the majority rather indifferently reproduced.

Leon Underwood's two companion volumes, on the other hand, are a new and original contribution to the subject. Their chief virtue, a rare one, is that most of the 107 plates are reproductions of works of art which have never been previously published. Since the total number of illustrations of African Negro sculpture readily available for study in this country amounts to little more than six or seven hundred, these plates are a very welcome addition, particularly as fifty-eight of the carvings which they illustrate are privately owned and therefore not accessible to most students. The selection has also been made by an artist with a profound appreciation of significant, or as he prefers to call it, Prelogical Form in Negro sculpture. We are therefore spared most of those insignificant curios which usually find their way into a work of this kind, either because they look sufficiently old and black, or because their labels bear the titles Benin, Ivory Coast, or other impressive cachets. Only a very few have got by now the figure shown in plate 5A. Twelve years ago it achieved a similar distinction in J. J. Sweeney's *African Negro Art* (Museum of Modern Art, New York). It must be a very powerful fetish. The great majority of these reproductions, however, are of carvings that deserve to be better known. The author has very wisely not attempted to

cover the whole field of African Negro sculpture. Instead he has concentrated on one or two particular and superior styles, for example, there are 12 plates of Dan and Baule masks and 19 of Yoruba statuettes. When he does range farther afield it is to present us with examples of quite unfamiliar styles, for instance, from the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast or from the Adamawa province of Nigeria. As could only be expected in a work of this price, the photography occasionally lets him down, for instance, the masks shown in plates 13, 18, 30, and 42 were photographed much too close to the camera and have suffered considerable distortion. The text consists of two essays which present the author's very personal reactions to West African art. Functional anthropologists may doubt whether valid generalizations can yet be made on the functions of African masks and carvings and may query the assertion that the birds or animals attached in the form of a crest to some of the masks represent totems, or the statement that 'the art schools of West Africa were its Secret Societies'; but most people will agree with the author when he writes: 'Abstractions of the modern European artist influenced by the primitive abstractions of these masks appear as a succession of sterile experiments deriving from the primitive example not by a sympathetic growth but by an act of splitting the form from its content (technique from subject matter).'

Kjersmeier's approach to African Negro art is primarily ethnological, Underwood's is the reverse. An example will make this clear. Commenting on a Bakota figure Underwood writes: 'The body of the ancestor is reduced to a mere lozenge, a form which has some special significance for the tribe, as cryptograms, in various forms of lozenge, appear in relief on the reverse of these Bakota figures.' (Note on plate 33, *Figures in Wood*.) Kjersmeier writes on a similar Bakota figure: 'Placed upon baskets containing the skulls of ancestors. As among the Pangwe the purpose is to keep strangers away from the baskets. The statuette is not a cult object. . . . Native name *Mbulu ngulu* ("picture of the spirit of the dead").' (Page 58, *African Negro Sculptures*.)

The weakest parts of *Masks of West Africa* and of *Figures in Wood* are the descriptive notes on the plates, and these should receive careful revision in any subsequent editions. For example, in *Figures in Wood*, the note on plate 48 reads, 'BAJOKWE, Angola, Spanish West Africa', again the 'Ogowe district' (plate 33) is in the Gaboon not the French Congo, the 'Ikeng' figure in plate 25 is not a tribal spirit but a personal or guardian spirit, the personification of good luck and of the right arm, and the more than usually abstract figure in plate 24 is not, as the note suggests, a leopard but a stylized hippopotamus—a form fairly common in the Aboh region of the Niger delta. But perhaps the most unfortunate note occurs in the volume on Masks. It is not altogether the author's fault as he is quoting from other sources. Plate 39 is described as: 'MUNSHI. Northern Nigeria. . . . "A sacrificial mask used at the New Moon ceremonies when virgins were sacrificed in a canoe on the river" (ex collection F. Hives Esq. an officer who suppressed the practice). A pronounced domed forehead adds calculation to the evil expression of the features. The masks reproduced here of the Ibo, Ibibio and Munshi, plates 34 to 39 share an affinity distinctive from the rest. It seems as if human facial expression is used above all to personify emanations or moods of these divinities.'

As far as the reviewer is aware the Munshi (Tiv) have no masks, no canoes, no new moon ceremonies, and no human sacrifices of this nature. It is hardly surprising that the plates referred to, with the exception of plate 35, are similar in style as they are all Ibibio Ekpo masks or copies of them. It is not an Ibo, as stated in the note to plate 34, but an Ibibio characteristic to portray in some of their fierce masks the ravages of Gangosa and other similar diseases. Ibibio masks find a ready appreciation outside their own area and many find their way into Ibo and Cross river societies; the fact that a mask was collected from one of these tribes is therefore no guarantee that it was made there. Plate 35,

an Ibo Ogbugulu Mau mask, is the only definitely Ibo mask reproduced in this book and the reviewer is unable to detect in it any particular affinity with the others. One final point; on page 14 of the same book the author specifies the colours used by native artists on their masks. 'Black (soot)' is not one of them. The Ibibio, for instance, use a stain obtained from the juice of certain leaves. Of course, old carvings which have been kept for years in the roof of huts, to preserve them from boring insects, acquire a black patina from the smoke of the fires beneath them but this is quite another matter.

These are all criticisms of petty detail; the great value of these two volumes lies in their magnificent series of plates which speak for themselves and our thanks go to the author for his skill in their selection and to the publishers for producing them at a price well within the means of the average reader. It is to be hoped that their enterprise will meet the success which it deserves.

G. I. JONES

The Use of Indigenous Authorities in Tribal Administration: Studies of the Meru in Kenya Colony.

By H. E. LAMBERT. Communications from the School of African Studies, University of Cape Town. New Series No. 16. April, 1947. Pp. 44, 1 map, 3s. 6d.

MR. LAMBERT's paper consists of two separate memoranda: 'Administrative use of the indigenous institutions of the Meru' and 'The constitution and personnel of statutory institutions in the Meru Native Reserve', preceded by an ethnographic introduction and followed by extracts from the Meru Annual Reports for 1939, 1940, and 1941. The people concerned are a group of Bantu tribes inhabiting the district of the same name east of Mount Kenya and speaking dialects allied to Kikuyu. The whole group, numbering about 230,000, comprises the Meru proper who are geographically subdivided into the Imenti, Tigania, and Igembe sections, and smaller related tribes in the south of the district: the Miutini, Igoji, Mwimbi, Muthambi, Tharaka, and Chuka.

Among the Meru, as among other Bantu peoples of Kenya, chiefship as an indigenous hereditary institution does not exist. Prior to the establishment of British administration, internal government was in the hands of councils of elders. An important feature of Meru polity is the age-set institution. In the specialized Meru system the whole male society is bisected into two divisions between which the sets alternate, so that each set belongs to the same division as the next but one above and the next but one below it. From initiation on the sets pass through the successive stages of the warriors, the young married men, the rulers, the old men and the aged. Since the stage of the rulers is the next but one above that of the warriors, the 'rule', or the combined administrative-judicial and executive functions, is theoretically always held by one of the two divisions for the duration of a political period, about ten or twelve years; it passes to the other division at the next handing-over ceremony, when each set advances to the next higher stage.

Actually indigenous authority is more stable than this scheme suggests. There are only two councils of the married sets, the *kiama kya nkomango*, a body with limited functions to which all married men may belong, and the *njuri ya kiama* (or *njuri ncheke*), the senior council or governing body. Just as membership of the *kiama* is not confined to the young married men, the *njuri* is not exclusively recruited from the rulers. Thus both councils, the wider and the more select, cut across the age-set system. The *njuri* is in fact the working nucleus of the *kiama*. Within each *mwiriga*, or larger localized kin-group, the *njuri* are chosen by the *kiama* from among their numbers. The *njuri* elders of a *mwiriga* will combine with those of the next *mwiriga* to settle matters affecting both groups. On the *njuri* council governing a larger tribal section the *njuri* of the various constituent *miiriga* are represented by their *agambi*, or 'speakers', that is, men of outstanding personality who are recognized as leaders within their respective narrower circles.

On questions of the composition of tribal units, of clan constitution and the relation of the clan organization to the age-set and council systems the author is not as explicit as might be desired. In native use the term *mwiriga* (pl. *miiriga*) is applied indiscriminately to kin-groups of varying scale. In the context of this paper it is used more specifically for the compact territorial groups which represent the internal administrative units. As the cohesion of such a group is largely based on a belief in descent from a common ancestor it might perhaps be described as a localized patrilineal clan, though the author avoids this term. He defines the *mwiriga*, rather negatively, as an extended clan, or as an administrative unit somewhat bigger than an exogamous clan, adding that the term can be used for the latter as well.

But Mr. Lambert's main object is not an ethnographical but a practical one, an administrator's discussion of the means by which the indigenous political institutions of the Meru can be integrated into the present system of administration. Obviously native political institutions as such, not merely individual natives as direct agents of Government, have to be brought into the administrative system if the postulate of 'indirect rule' is to be implemented. But genuine indirect rule is a difficult problem, particularly where it cannot be based on indigenous hereditary chiefship. So far the incorporation of indigenous political institutions seems to be, on the whole, more an ideal than a reality.

The first of the two memoranda is a plea for the more extensive recognition and use of the indigenous *njuri* councils as an essential part of the system of government. In the past the *njuri* were, because of their opposition to what they considered arbitrary methods of rule, often actively oppressed. Government-created chiefs chose and employed as their executive the so-called *njama*, men without tribal standing whose authority was based entirely on their being chiefs' satellites and who made their living by arbitrarily deciding cases and imposing penalties. The *njama*-system seems now to have been abolished or at least to be discouraged. But the first attempts to replace the *njama* by the *agambi* of each *mwiriga* were failures. The *agambi* were erroneously regarded as the heads of sub-clans, and expected to support an administration which continued to ignore the *njuri*. Actually the *njuri* is the real indigenous government, and a *mugambi*, who is only a *primus inter pares* in it, cannot be expected to work against his own team. Only since 1933 has an attempt been made to work together with the *njuri*, whose aid has been enlisted in such matters as, for instance, soil conservation and forest control.

In the second memorandum Mr. Lambert discusses the chances of making existing institutions more generally accepted by changes in the constitution and in the selection of personnel. Chiefs and headmen, native tribunals, the Local Native Council, and the Local Land Board are examined in this connexion. Some remarks on the author's discussion of Government-imported chiefship in a traditionally chiefless society have to suffice as a review. It seems that chiefs imposed by Government as its direct agents are an indispensable factor in the present scheme of administration. In the author's opinion Government should retain the right to appoint these men, but should, whenever possible, appoint men who have a tribal standing as *agambi* and members of the *njuri*. A chief is more likely to be successful if he is in a position of liaison between the alien and the indigenous government, by belonging to and having the support of both. If it is not possible to appoint a man who is a resident of the location to be administered by him, an anthropological investigation should discover whether or not the nominee is acceptable to the location as well as likely to be satisfactory from the point of view of Government. Lastly, the chief's status should be that of a 'Chief-in-Council', the council being formed by the leading *agambi* of both age-divisions of all clans in the chief's jurisdiction.

As an example of the necessity for anthropological inquiries in connexion with appointments, the author mentions the implications of a relationship called *gichiario* which exists

between clans and larger tribal sections in areas more or less remote from one another. He translates the native term as 'blood-brotherhood between tribal sections larger than the family'. This collective relationship imposes on the two groups concerned juridical abstention from enmity, enforcing on each group not only submission to extortion by members of the other group but also the granting of sanctuary to criminals from the other group. It is an artificial friendship which rather precludes real friendship. If a chief should be appointed to a location with which his own tribal section has *gichiario* ties he would be unable to administer it impartially, as he could not take administrative action against his *gichiario* partners.

Incidentally, before accepting Mr. Lambert's translation of the term *gichiario* as 'section blood-brotherhood' one would like to know by what means the relationship is established. Anthropologists apply fixed conceptual categories to social phenomena; no doubt social relations or modes of behaviour covered by different categories may often actually blend into one another. It is not suggested that collective blood-brotherhood does not exist, but from Mr. Lambert's description *gichiario* looks rather like a form of 'joking relationship', more commonly known in east Africa under the Swahili term *utani*.

H. MEINHARD

Problems of African Development. Part 1: Land and Labour. By T. R. BATTEN. London: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. viii+178. 3s. 6d.

THIS book derives its interest and significance from the fact that it tries 'to assess the situation from the standpoint of educated Africans', and Mr. Batten's experience in teaching African students at Makerere College gives him special qualifications for making this attempt.

The greater part of the book—eleven chapters out of twenty—is devoted to problems of the land: systems of land tenure, the conservation of the soil, farming methods, forestry, &c. These chapters are written with admirable understanding and lucidity and give throughout the impression of first-hand knowledge supplemented by a wisely selective use of the relevant literature. They should prove highly suitable for impressing upon Africans the fundamental and urgent character of the problems and dangers which face African communities in respect of their principal asset.

Unfortunately, this high standard is not kept up in the last part of the book which deals with other departments of economic life such as labour, capital equipment, external and internal trade. Most of these topics open up wider aspects of economic and social development, and, if they had to be included, demand a much more thorough discussion. The best course, which may not have been open to the author, would probably have been to treat them in a separate volume.

Moreover, in dealing with these several subjects, the author does not display the sure judgement and clarity which distinguish the earlier chapters. Some of the opinions are expressed with a vagueness and uncertainty which will necessarily be imparted to the reader and are not in keeping with the declared objective of the book. For instance, the author is unable to make up his mind whether or not to advocate the replacement of migrant labour (the disadvantages of which he over-emphasizes) by a permanent resident labour force, or to argue clearly the pros and cons of each system. Even the manner of writing differs from that of the earlier chapters, and one cannot help feeling that the author has to some extent lost sight of the class of reader for whom his book is primarily designed.

The perfunctory manner of dealing with certain matters might cause confusion and misunderstanding in the minds of readers. Thus, in the discussion of non-African enterprise, no clear distinction is drawn between plantations, such as the sisal estates in Tanganyika and Kenya, which involve the residence of only a small number of non-Africans,

and white settlement, which is destined to provide permanent homesteads for a relatively large number of Europeans, and may have a very different effect on African economy.

There is little foundation for the apprehension (p. 141) that the export of West African palm-kernels may be threatened by competition from Far Eastern plantations in the same way as is that of palm-oil, since these plantations cultivate a palm the fruit of which has a pericarp rich in oil but a very small kernel, and relatively few of these kernels were exported before the 1939-45 war.

Apparently the book has suffered the now familiar fate of having had to wait a long time for publication. This would explain the absence of any reference to the East African ground-nut scheme which constitutes so important an experiment in applying a novel form of organization to African development.

Nobody will contest the author's final conclusion that the primary need of the African economy is greater efficiency of African labour, or his assertion that to achieve this improvements have to be sought in several directions. In spite of the uneven quality of the book it is to be hoped, because of the merits of its larger part, that it will find its way into the hands of many readers, both African and non-African, who are sure to profit by it.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF TITLES OF PERIODICALS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bull. du CEPSI	Bulletin du Centre d'Étude des Problèmes sociaux indigènes.	Nada	Native Affairs Department Annual (S. Rhodesia).
Bull. Jurid. indig.	Bulletin des Juridictions indigènes et du Droit coutumier congolais.	Notes Afr. IFAN	Notes Africaines: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire.

Other titles are abbreviated in accordance with the International Code.

